TRIBUT
TO
QUAID-I-AZ



EDITED BY

Muhammad Haneef Shahid

TRIBUTES
TO
QUAID-I-AZAM

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BY

MUHAMMAD HANIF SHAHID,

M.A.,

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FOREWORD

In a speech broadcast from the Radio Pakistan on the Ist Anniversary (11th September, 1948) of the Quaid-i-Azam, Miss Fatima Jinnah said.

> "Quaid-i-Azam lived so that Pakistan
> may come into being ; he died so
> that Pakistan may live."[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam is no more with us. We miss him badly but the memory of the Quaid is sacred. He has enshrined himself in our hearts and in the pages of history. The Government of Pakistan is celebrating the "Centenary Celebrations" of the Quaid-i-Azam with great pomp and show. The best way to pay homage to the Quaid is that the "words and works" of the Quaid be followed as best as possible. We should keep before us the high ideals of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Quaid-i-Azam has left a lasting monument in the hearts of the people. I appeal to the youth, both men and women to study his life, follow the high principles and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Quaid's memorial message of "Unity, Faith and Discipline" would be an inspiration of progress. The Quaid has left us a great hesitage and a great legacy. His monument is Pakistan. It is the duty of all us to stand united and bury the hatchet. We should re-dedicate to the hopes which the Quaid cherished for the "State" which was his creation and to the ideals which he placed before us.

The Civil and Military Gazette, 13th Sept, 1948, p. 8.

Undoubtedly, the Quaid-i-Azam was a "QUAID" of the Muslims. He inspired the aspirations of the Muslim nation of this sub-continent and that nation made of him the embodiment of those aspirations. As a lawyer, politician and "QUAID", he gave substance and meaning to a poet's dream and devoted many years of his life solely to its realisation. He is the Father of the Nation. He is the Founder-achitect of Pakistan, and in the words of Allama Iqbal :

آ گرے "مسیح" بن کے محمد علی جناح[1]

This book is being published in connection with the "Centenary Celebrations of the Quaid-i-Azam."

In a sense, it is a sort of tribute which I, being a Pakistani, can pay to the Quaid. I thank all those who have cooperated with me in the compilation of this book. I am, thankful to Mr. Niaz Ahmad who has taken much pains and keen interest in its publication.

It is my sacred duty to pay homage to the sweet memory of Dr. Mumtaz Hassan who was always kind to me and favoured me with the article which has been included in the book.

Muhammad Haneef Shahid

896/2-N, Khalid Bin Waleed Road,

16-5-1976 Samanabad, LAHORE

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1 - زمیندار ۹ نومبر ۱۹۲۱ء صحفہ ۱

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Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

by

AKBAR BHAI PIR BHAI, BAR-AT-LAW

"By thine own soul's law learn to live
And if men thwart thee take no heed ;
And if men hate thee have no care
Sing thou thy song and do thy deed ;
Hope thou thy hope and pray thy prayer."

Sarojini Naidu

"In a few years we have made of the Muslims of India, who were only a crowd, a nation. They were a scattered mass, disorganised and apathetic. The Muslim League has electrified them, roused them from their stupor and knit them together. We have gone through a process of nationalisation and now we

have one flag, one platform and one voice" Thus declared Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah inaugurating the third Annual Session of the Baluchistan Muslim League early in 1943.

From "the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" as he was then called to the Quaid-e-Azam preaching one voice, one flag, and one ideal – Pakistan – is a far cry. Starting with an ambition to be a Muslim Gokhale and ending by being the unquestioned leader of eighty million Mussalmans of India and leading them in their crusade of separate homelands for the Mussalmans makes fascinating study. The contradiction which appears on the surface proves on closer examination to be a consistent pattern which is logical, and a natural consequence of the evolution and growth of the Congress under Mr. Gandhi's leadership.

From very early years, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah displayed a marked interest in the life and conditions around him. Even at the tender age of fifteen, with limited knowledge and immature wisdom he was known to hold forth to an audience twice his age and to keep them spellbound in discoursing upon the merits or the demerits of some local event in Karachi.

Study and book knowledge never appealed to him and in them he showed no marked proficiency. The small world around him was the object of his interest and Public events were the books he studied.

Gay, handsome and dashing, he was the favourite of his mother and an object of admiration to the tiny community of Khojas to which father belonged. Trade and commerce were the life blood of the Khojas and Jinnah's father had prospered and established a reputation in the city of Karachi.

Naturally it was expected that young Muhammad Ali

would take over the mantle of his father and continue the business traditions so zealously built up. But Jinnah had a different ambition. Though, in 1892, at the very tender age of 16 he left for England primarily with the object of opening and establishing commercial connections in London, it is suspected that even then Jinnah had a different object in mind. It was not commerce that made him undertake and risk the hazards of a voyage to England at that young age—but something bigger, something more ambitious.

Once in London he was in a different and a stiange world —but a world of his own vision. After his efforts at business proved abortive due to the difficulties his father began to experience in Karachi. Jinnah induced and prevailed upon his parent to allow him to stay on and study for the Bar. With pluck and determination he settled down in his new surroundings and became accustomed to Western ways and habits of life.

He soon enrolled himself at Lincoln's Inn in London, and began reading for the Bar. He did not join any University and most of his spare time—apart from the study of the Law—he spent at the libıary of the British Museum reading and studying the lives of great men. One day in London, during the Round Table Conference, in an expansive mood, he told me of the large number of the lives of great men—both religious and political thinkers—that he had read and studied and how useful and instructive he had found them. His other activities, apart from study, were not negligible. Fortunately for himself and India, the contacts he made at that impressionable age were of the healthiest character and played an important part in the formative process which made the Jinnah of later years. In this Dadabhai Naoroji—the grand old man of India—played a leading part. It was under him that Jinnah received his first

lessons in politics and public life and the training and the contacts were not lost on him in later life.

Jinnah was called to the Bar in 1896 at the very young age of 21 and in the same year he returned to India. He was soon to taste the hardships and grim realities of life. Shortly before his return, the family business was not going too well. Some unwise undertakings had involved his father in difficulties and Jinnah found him a ruined and a broken man. But this was not the worst. Before the crash, his father had entered into some transactions in the name of Jinnah and these too had gone wrong. On arrival in India, therefore, Jinnah had not only to face financial difficulties but also litigation. Undaunted he faced his opponents and in conducting and winning his own case he registered his first triumph in the practice of the law.

With his greater ambition he found Karachi too small a field for his legal activities and in 1897 he came to Bombay to set up practice at the High Court, and conquer the world equipped with nothing but the charmed missiles of his youth, his courage and his ambition.

The first three years were a period of severe hardship and trials. But buoyant patience and determination to succeed soon bore fruit. Through the kind offices of an old friend he was granted permission to read in the chambers of Mr. Macpherson, then the acting Advocate General of Bombay. This was the starting point which soon set him on the road to success. Occasional briefs now began to dribble in and the obscure young lawyer soon proved his mettle and started to lay the foundation of his notable legal success and fame which resounded throughout the country.

To what does Jinnah owe his phenomenal success ? That is the question frequently asked. One of his colleagues at the Bombay Bar, and one who was closely connected with him supplies the answer. It is because Jinnah adopted the motto

of Danton :—"l' audace, l' audace, toujours, l' audace." In a man of such delicate personality it is indeed surprising that there should be such a fund of pluck and audacity. Since the day when as a little boy, he found himself all alone in the vast wilderness of the city of London, he has fought his way up. With no connections, with hardly any means, with highly problematic prospects for Indians in those early days, he struggled at the Bar, confident in himself and in his star.

Jinnah may not be considered a great lawyer. But as an advocate he occupies a place which is unique in the country. Great lawyers and men many years his senior acknowledge him their master in the art of advocacy. He is a pure artist in the manner and method of his presentation. He has that uncanny ability of making the most complex facts, simple and obvious. He can be ferociously aggressive or almost boyishly persuasive as the occasion demands. Besides, he possesses a remarkably clear head and a fund of common sense, that most uncommon of qualities.

Jinnah's life and struggles are a heartening example to many a junior struggling to-day at the Bar. In every profession there are short cuts to fame and success. But Jinnah has always chosen the high and difficult path of honour and integrity and yet reached his heart's desire. However much the Hindu members of the Bombay Bar, dislike and disagree with his political convictions, they one and all applaud him for upholding and maintaining the highest traditions of the Bar. He has always kept aloof from the heat and the dust of the matter-of-fact world with its intrigues and squabbles. Squalor and corruption have left him untouched.

The talents which helped him to success in the legal world, were pre-eminently suited to a political career. Combining in

himself two of the rarest gifts,—a heart fired by great fervour and sincerity and profound vision and intellect, he was destined to play a prominent part in the world of politics. Jinnah is gifted with a unique and characteristic of style speaking which he has carried with him into every sphere of life. He has the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery and a voice, which lacking in volume has an arresting timbre. With unusual powers of persuasion, luminous exposition, searching argument and sound judgment he earned for himself an enviable reputation as a great debater. At the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress he began to occupy a cherished place and considerably helped to guide and direct its plans and policies.

In the autumn of 1910 he made his debut in practical India politics when he was elected by the Mussalmans of Bombay Presidency as their representative to the Supreme Legislative Council. In this role he earned the gratitude of progressive India in supporting liberal measures involving the larger national welfare. Piloting the intricate and controversial Wakf Validating Bill successfully through the Council was one of the outstanding performances that stands to his credit.

In the meanwhile Muslim India, always passionately faithful to its own spiritual traditions began to be aware of its own political inheritance. The period of suspicion and aloofness which had characterized the Muslims ever since the Mutiny was liquidated and an era of awakening to its own responsibility in shaping the national future was heralded. Towards this end, the All-India Muslim League started a few years previously, was expanded and remodelled on more progressive lines at the 1913 Sessions at Calcutta.

Jinnah pledged to the greater national welfare, had with characteristic independence and honesty kept apart for the

movement, till then so frankly and exclusively sectarian in its purpose. But by an act of courtesy he was invited to the momentous sessions, where he gave his invaluable support to the adoption of the new Constitution. The Muslim League thus fell in line with the Congress policy of attaining under the aegis of the British Crown, a system of Self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means.

It was in the year 1913 in England, on the eve of his departure for India, that Jinnah formally enrolled himself as a member of the All-India Muslim League. In keeping with his high sense of honour, he made it a condition precedent that loyalty to the Muslim League and Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated.

From now on he took a leading part in the counsels of the Muslim League and with that broad vision and absence of all sectarian bias he led it along the path of greater national honour and welfare. Jinnah has always striven to bring about a real and lasting understanding between Hindus and Muslims, the two major elements in the Indian body politic. He has always been convinced and rightly so, that no real progress was possible without such an understanding. In bringing about the Lucknow Pact in 1916 he rendered a signal service to the national cause by uniting the Muslims and Hindus in a common ideal.

But alas, suspicion, old hostilities and a growing desire on the part of the Hindus to appropriate power to themselves undid the efforts of a decade. Then came the first Civil Disobedience Movement of Mr. Gandhi. Leaders all around were being drawn into the vortex of non-co-operation with all its implications without first laying a solid foundation of Hindu-Muslim understanding. Jinnah steadily maintained his opposi-

tion to that movement, risking his popularity and earning a great deal of undeserved opprobrium. But with that foresight and uncanny instinct he foretold the failure of the movement and refused to be carried off his feet by impulse and emotion. Sentiment has no place in his armoury. To him life is logic. It is the rigid and unflinching test of logic that the applies to every problem that comes up before him. It was this test that enabled him to advise his followers to keep away from the periodic emotionalism of Mr. Gandhi.

Undaunted by past failures Jinnah continued to work for Hindu-Muslim rapprochement and towards that end consolidated and led the progressive and national elements in the Muslim League. In the successive Sessions of the Muslim League in 1924, 1925 and 1926, Jinnah defined the position of the Mussalmans in respect of any forthcoming changes in the Indian Constitution. The terms embodied were extremely moderate and fair. But it seemed that the provision for separate electorates caused undue opposition and hostilities from the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha.

To meet the wishes and demands of the Hindu leaders, Jinnah himself then convinced of the wisdom and advantages of joint electorates made heroic efforts. Therefore in 1927, the Muslim leaders met in Delhi at the instance of Jinnah and mainly through his masterful advocacy, unanimously agreed to accept joint electorates on the condition that Sind was separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province ; that reforms were introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footing as in any other province in India ; that in Punjab and Bengal representation should be in accordance with population ; and that finally in the Central Legislature Muslim representation was not to be less than a third and that too by joint electorates.

What more could the Hindu leaders want ?

When the Congress substantially accepted those proposals, there was universal rejoicing. The millennium was at hand. At the subsequent discussion at the All Parties Conference in Delhi in 1928 to draw up an agreed Constitution for India, the opposition of the orthodox and die-hard Hindu leaders began to crystallize. Under this influence, even the Congress receded from the position it had so far adopted and in the subsequent discussion which culminated in the Nehru Report, the Muslim League and representative Muslim opinion was not consulted.

Jinnah made one more effort to come to a settlement, by getting the Muslim League to send a delegation to the All Parties Convention at Delhi in December of 1928 to put the moderate and just demands of the Mussalmans on the basis of joint electorates. These demands were summarily rejected by the Convention and the League delegates withdrew from further discussion. This was a great disappointment to Jinnah. He had courageously fought the reactionary Muslim element within the League and had even gone to the length of splitting the League into the Jinnah League and Shaffi League on the twin issues of joint electorates and the Simon Commission. He had extended his hand of co-operation and compromise for the greater national welfare. That hand of friendship was spurned by the Congress and the Mahasabha. The Hindu leaders were not in a frame of mind to share even a vestige of power with the Mussalmans.

Years rolled by. The Simon Commission with its attendant agitation and mass protest came and went. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress started the second Civil Disobedience Movement to paralyse the British Government. Hindus and Muslims once again came together under the stress of emotion and on the common issue of hatred of the British Government. There was shooting, lathi charges and mass arrests and many Muslim

and Hindu leaders were locked in jails.

The British Government began to realize the dep'h of feelings of the Indian people and as a compromise decided to convene a Round Table Conference of all parties in London.

The years 1930 to 1934 saw the farce and futility of that show and once again demonstrated the uncompromising attitude not only of the Hindu leaders but even of Mr. Gandhi as the representative of the Congress. Here again it can be said to the credit of Jinnah—and Jinnah alone, that he refused to act on the Minorities Sub-Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, as he put it, "to wash dirty linen before our White Master." Jinnah always believed that the Hindu-Muslim problem was a domestic problem and one capable of solution between Hindus and Muslim themselves with a little give and take and without any foreign intervention.

In spite of his past experiences and failures, Jinnah once again set about his task with hope and determination. His residence in London was the centre of informal and protracted discussions amongst the Muslim Representatives. Due to his cogent exposition and persuasive powers, the Muslim Delegation was once again brought into that frame of mind to renew the offer of joint electorates throughout India with reservation of seats in the Punjab and Bengal and one third represeutation in the Centre and the services.

I remember very vividly some of the discussions and the attitude of Sir Muhammed Shaffi, the spokesman of the Mussalmans in the Minorities Sub-Committee. He was scrupulously opposed to Joint-electorates as being against the interests of the Muslim Community. But bowing to the wisdom of Jinnah and the wishes of the rest of the delegates, he was prevailed upon to make this offer to Mr. Gandhi and the

Hindu leaders. The proposals were summarily turned down by Dr. Moonje and Mr. Jayakar, the accredited leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. Mr. Gandhi who was there and revelled in the discussions of the Minorities Sub-Committee, with his usual mental reservations, was prepared to accept them as an individual but not on behalf of the Congress - at least not until the Hindu Mahasabha was brought to that frame of mind. India cried out in agony ! Were our leaders completely devoid of statesmanship ? Were these our real leaders and must we for ever remain slaves ?

A glorious opportunity had again been lost. Once again the Hindu leaders had turned down the hand of co-operation and the prospect of sharing power in a free and united India. The result of the Round Table Conferences was the Government of India Act on the basis of All-India Federation with the Indian States acting as the brakes to freedom and progress. The British grip and influence were in no degree relaxed and it was apparent that bondage of the country was given another lease of life. The wagon of Indian freedom had been shunted on the wrong track and it would take many years to get it on the right track again.

The attitude of Jinnah at these Round Table Conferences was perfectly honourable and completely national. So much so that his position was rightly described by the Manchester Guardian thus :

"Mr. Jinnah's position at the Round Table Conference was unique. The Hindus thought he was a Muslim communalist, the Muslim took him to be a pro-Hindu, the princes deemed him to be too democratic. The Britishers considered him an extreme Nationalist with the result that he was a leader without a following."

I will never forget the conversation I had with Jinnah at the conclusion of the Second Round Table Conference in London. He was despondent and depressed. As he confessed, his life work had failed to bear fruit and he remarked, "Heaven help India!" So great was his disappointment and so hopeless the situation that he decided to settle down in London and practise at the Privy Council. He was deaf to all appeals and entreaties to return to India. As he repeatedly said, "What good can I do in India?" To that there was no answer then.

Years rolled by and in its train came the Government of India Act and Provincial Autonomy. Jinnah, with his usual foresight and vision realised that the Mussalmans—nay the Indian people were at the threshold of a critical period and his place was by their side. It was like a call of blood and he responded to it.

It was not long before he took the reins in his hands again. The Muslims were just groping in the dark for some such leader to guide them in their difficult and perilous path. The material was there, but it needed leadership. Just as Hitler found the spirit of the German people smarting under the inequities of the Treaty of Versailles, so were the Mussalmans resenting the hostile and unfair attitude of the Congress to their claims and aware of the attempts to deprive them of their legitimate rights to a share in the Government of their country. They sensed the danger of being reduced to everlasting serfdom as a minority with no vestige of power. A few innocuous safeguards were not what they wanted. A few seats in some legislatures were not what they aspired to. Protection of their language and religion was not what they sought. All these they had in ample measure under the British. It was not change of masters they were contemplating.

Real power, and to enjoy the fruits of that power; to call

this country theirs and take an active interest and part in its governance—that was what they cherished. They were beginning to be aware of the efforts to rob them of their heritage. That would be an act of injustice, an act of treachery. Given a leader, they were prepared to fight this inequity to the last man.

The spirit of revolt was smouldering in their hearts. Only a spark was wanted to ignite it into a conflagration. Jinnah supplied that spark and united the Muslims of India into a nation of eighty millions with one voice, one flag and one ideal. Once a rabble crowd, this nation was now alive to the danger and aware of its destiny. From now on began the new phase Jinnah's leadership. Jinnah, the leader of the intelligentsia became the leader of the people. His most ardent admirers were astonished by the ability, confidence and strength with which he took charge of leadership of a people noted for its apathy and indifference.

During the difficult period before the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, Jinnah reorganised and revitalized the Muslim League and put it on a new basis. From an organ that met annually to air the grievances of the Mussalmans and to pass a few high sounding resolutions, the League was made into a people's organisation with a policy and a programme. Elections were contested and machinery was set up to make it a strong political party in the country. The success at the poll in 1937 was truly amazing, considering the short period of time at the disposal of Jinnah. It was a fitting testimony to the confidence of the people in his leadership.

But it did not serve as an eye-opener to the Congress. They failed to read the writing on the wall. With that same arrogance they once again turned down the offer of Jinnah to form Coalition Ministries. Their own success at the Poll had gone

to their heads. As Jawaharlal Nehru haughtily remarked, "There are two parties in the country, the British and the Congress." What about the Muslims ? They were not with Congress. Anyone but the blind could see that. Had they no place in the shape of things to come ? Evedently not. As was demonstrated by the two and a half years of Congress rule in the provinces.

Puppet Muslim were taken as ministers—men not representing their community and men who could be bought for a price. In that short space of time, the Congress, dominated by Hindu elements, gave a taste of what the future held in store for them.

It is strenuously argued that the Congress rule was not in any way oppressive to the Muslims on any major points. "We ruled them more equitably than the Moghul emperors ruled the Hindus for many centuries," boasted a prominent Congress Minister. But this is precisely where they erred. The Moghuls ruled as conquerors and masters. Did the Hindus want to do the same ? Were they forgetting that two centuries had rolled by since the last days of the Moghuls ? Was all this talk of liberty, equality, and democracy just sham ? Were the Muslims to be ruled like a conquered people ?

Speaking in 1938, Jinnah said, "The Muslim League has freed the Mussalmans from the clutches of the British Government. But now there is another power which claims to be the successor of the British Government. Call it by whatever name you like, but it is Hindu and Hindu Government."

During these two and a half years, Jinnah went on with his task of uniting and consolidating the Mussalmans all over the country. The bitterness and hatred created by the Congress Ministries considerably helped him in this stupendous task.

As years rolled by Jinnah was more convinced than ever that

the Congress did not desire a just and honourable settlement The Hindus were not as yet prepared to share power with the Muslims. The cherished ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity for which he had fought so vainly was now impossible. As he said in 1940. "Instead of getting united they (Hindus and Muslims) have been moving farther and farther away. The reason is that the Congress and the Hindus want a settlement under which they can dominate the whole of India. The Muslims, on the other hand, want equal share in freedom, independence and in the future Government of India. This is a fundamental difference between the standpoint of the Hindus and the Muslims. This is why we have failed in taking over a joint responsible Government from the British."

Then came the war and the declaration of the Viceroy involving India in the conflict. During the conferences and discussions held at the time in Delhi and again when India herself was threatened by Japan, Jinnah was willing to co-operate with the Congress for the national welfare. He was willing to shelve the controversial issue of Pakistan and to form coalition ministries in the provinces and a Government at the centre with equal powers. Once again the Hindu leaders showed themselves in their true colours. The hand of friendship was yet again spurned. The obstinacy and perverseness of the Congress High Command to maintain and keep a grip over the whole of India, hoping one day to be the successors of the British, finally convinced Jinnah of the futility of compromise. As he said, "Britain wants to rule over India, Muhatma Ghandhi want to rule over Muslim India. We are modest people and say that we won't allow either of them to rule over us, combined or separately."

In 1940, amidst unparalleled scenes of enthusiasm and jubilation, the Pakistan Resolution was passed at the Lahore Sessions of the Muslim League. Separate and independent

homelands of the Mussalmans became the cherished ideal and Pakistan was given a concrete shape.

Presiding on that historic occasion Jinnah said, "Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us."

Thus ended the work of a life time for Hindu-Muslim unity. The ideal of united India was wrecked on the rock of Hindu greed and avarice. It was now apparent that Hindus and Muslims must agree to differ. They must henceforth tread different paths. Even then freedom for Pakistan and Hindustan can only come by mutual understanding and agreement. Towards this end, Jinnah's efforts are now directed. It is a stupendous task. But already his labours are bearing fruit. There is a growing opinion amongst the wiser and more practical Hindu minds to agree to the parting of ways and thus end foreign domination.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah is 67 years to-day, He has an immense task ahead of him. It will need all his energies, tact and ability to finally secure free and independent homelands for the Mussalmans. It will not be easy to fight the machinations of

both the Congress and the British. But he can be well assured of the good wishes of every lover of freedom in that fight. For in this crusade he is also struggling for the freedom and independence of Hindustan. As he said very lately, "There can be no free Pakistan without a free Hindustan."

His opponents and critics chose to call him the "damaged Archangel of Indian Politics." Archangel of Indian freedom he has always been and will continue to be. But damaged he is not. His past is his guide for the present.

A day will yet dawn when the Hindus will realize and awake to his preachings. They will become conscious of the futility of welding India into a unity with its immense size, different religions, numerous languages and diverse culture, not to say anything of age long hostilities and suspicions. These in fact have been the strongest enemies of India.

The country will yet live to bless Muhammad Ali Jinnah for preferring freedom in spearation to serfdom in unity.

From Jinnah Faces an Assassin 1943.

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Muhammad Ali Jinnah

by

V. N- IYER, M. A., M. L.

BIRTH

MR. MUHAMMD ALI JINNAH was born on Christmas Day 1876, at Karachi in a rich Khoja trading family ; he has always felt proud of his native city. In his speech on the resolution for the abolition or reform of the Council of the Secretary of State for India at the Indian National Congress held at Karachi in Christmas 1913, he said : "You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand in this platform in this city of Karachi where I was born, where I have found by my side, after my arrival in this city, personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood."

SCHOOL

Mr. Jinnah was the eldest son of a rich Khoja merchant ; and he was consequently reared up in affluence and fondled by

for those who know him, a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's, a humour gay and winning as a child's – pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life, the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectually disguise a shy and splendid idealism which is of the very essence of the man.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 (there is no reliable record of the actual year)—the eldest son of a rich merchant of Karachi. Reared in careless affluence and adored by his family, he might so easily have grown into an indolent and ignorant boyhood. But he fortunately loved his studies and received his early education at the Madrassah and afterwards at the Mission School of his native city. In 1892 he was sent to England—"a tall, thin boy in a funny long coat",—is an amusing description of him. There he joined Lincoln's Inn, studied law and was in due course called to the bar. It seems a pity that so fine an intelligence should have denied itself the hallmark of a University training. But he had, instead, what from an India standpoint was the golden privilege of close association with the great Dadabhai Naoroji, then President of the London Indian Society, and the guardian angel of young Indian in England. What can exaggerate the value of such a noble inspiration in moulding the soul of a disciple so reverent and responsive ?

On his return to India in 1896 Muhammad Ali Jinnah found his family involved in heavy financial ruin ; and this favourite of fortune, suddenly faced with unexpected poverty, set out to conquer the world equipped with nothing but the charmed missiles of his youth, his courage and his ambition.

After three years of severe hardship, his brave and buoyant patience bore fruit. Through the kind offices of an old friend

he was granted permission to read in the Chambers of Mr. Mcpherson, then acting Advocate-General of Bombay—a courteous concession, the first of its kind ever extended to an Indian which its recipient still remembers as a beacon of hope in the dark distress of his early struggles.

Occasional briefs now began to dribble in and the obscure young lawyer needing only an opportunity soon proved his real mettle and started to lay the foundation of his notable legal success

In 1906 when I met him in Calcutta at the historic sessions of the Indian National Congress where Dadabhai Naoroji first enunciated the glorious ideal of Self-Government for India, Muhammad Ali Jinnah' for the moment acting as private secretary to his old master, was already accounted a rising lawyer and a coming politician. For, true to his earlier teaching and fired no doubt by the virile patriotism of men like the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji and the lion-hearted Pherozeshah Mehta he had long since joined the ranks of the National Congress and regularly attended its annual gatherings. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that his maiden speech at this National Assembly was made in connection with the Waqf-alal-Aulad—a measure that was later to bring his name into such prominence. Interesting too, and suggestive in view of succeeding events, it is to find this future leader of the Mussalmans present as a sort of "cross bencher" at the conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders convened at Allahabad in 1910 under Sir William Wedderburn's benign direction to consider a somewhat premature and artificial *entente cordiale* between the two communities still so sharply divided by a gulf of mutual dislike and distrust.

In the autumn of 1910 he was elected by the Mussalmans of Bombay Presidency as their representative to the Supreme

Legislative Council, and though the question naturally arises as to how far it was consistent with the avowed principle of so staunch a nationalist to represent a purely sectarian interest, the fact nevertheless remains that Muhammad All Jinnah invariably lent his willing support to every liberal measure involving the larger national issues like Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, to which conversative India as a whole was so valiantly opposed. His only original work, however, during the period was in connection with the Wakf Validating Bill, to introduce which he was specially nominated for an extra term in 1913 by Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy. His admirable skill and tact in piloting through such an intricate and controversial measure—the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private member—won him not only the appreciation of his colleagues but also his first meed of general recognition from his co-religionists all over India, who while still regarding him a little outside the orthodox pale of Islam were so soon to seek his advice and guidance in their poiltical affairs.

On his return from the Imperial Council in March he gave his evidence before the Public Service Commission then sitting in Bombay—a refreshing page in a vast mass of weary details.

Meanwhile the Time spirit, so busy altering world values and world visions had been secretly at work and the heart of Muslim India, always passionately faithful to its own spiritual traditions, became suddenly and vividly aware also of its own political inheritance and its own responsibility in shaping the national future.

The All-India Muslim League, started a few years earlier at Dacca to voice current Mussalman opinion and aspiration was found to be too narrow and too *nebulous in* its scope and

aims for this intense and growing national consciousness. And about the middle of 1912 a conference of Muslim leaders met at Calcutta to consider the remodelling of the constitution on more progressive and patriotic lines. It was decided to send Syed Wazir Hasan, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the League, on an extensive tour to ascertain the views of Muslims in every province regarding so momentous a change of policy and perspective. And in the following December a special meeting of the Association was called, presided over by His Highness the Agha Khan to discuss the draft of an entirely new constitution, which was ultimately and enthusiastically adopted at the memorable sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow on 22 March 1913—a date that inaugurates a new era in the political history of Muslim India.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, pledged to the greater national welfare, had with characteristic independence and honesty kept apart from a movement till then so frankly and exclusively sectarian in its purpose. But by an act of courtesy which was in itself a graceful acknowledgment of his merits he was invited to attend the Calcutta Conference and also the later Council meeting where, being specially requested to speak, he gave his informal and invaluable support to Clause D of the new Constitution which materially embodies the Congress ideal of "Attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of Self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, among others, a steady reform of the existing system of administration by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose".

The year 1913 stands out as a distinct landmark in my friend's inner life. Not only did a wider measure of public re-

cognition wake in him a deeper sense of personal responsibility but one or two new and sympathetic influences brought an intimate touch of warmth and colour into his somewhat lonely and impersonal existence.

About the middle of April he proceeded to Europe in search of a long holiday with Gokhale for fellow-traveller, and the Arabian stars and Egyptian waters keep record doubtless of their mutual hopes and dreams for the country of their devoted service.

Once in England, however, there was no rest for this tireless worker. He was at once drawn into the tangled web of the student-world whose cause he espoused with such assiduous zeal and understanding. Within a few weeks of his arrival he founded the London Indian Association which forms so excellent a focus for the otherwise scattered energies and activities of young India in a foreign land; and it was mainly at his instance that a committee was appointed by the India Office to inquire into the legitimate grievances of Indian students suffering so keenly from an unnecessary and unaccountable set of new rules and restrictions hindering their admission into educational centres hitherto so hospitable and so easy of access.

In May 1914 he returned to England as a member of the All-India Congress Deputation concerning the proposed reform of the India Council. He had already in this connection moved resolutions both at the Karachi sessions of the Congress a few months earlier and at the Agra session of the Muslim League.

In a country where the personal element forms so integral a part of public success, it was no small compliment to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's social as well as mental qualities that he was chosen to be the spokesman of articulate India before the representatives of the British Parliament and the British public. The leading English journals published numerous

interviews and his concise and lucid statement of the Indian case which appeared in the London *Times* attracted widespread attention and comment.

The tragic death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in February 1915 brought Hindus and Mussalmans close together in a bond of common loss and sorrow. It was keenly felt that the time was now ripe for a more direct and definite *rapprochement* between the two great communities that had so recently exchanged such cordial expressions of goodwill and fellowship from afar.

The Indian National Congress was to hold its sittings that year in Bombay, and there could be no better centre of reconciliation than this cosmopolitan capital of India. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, supported at that time by all the leading local Mussalmans, sent an invitation to the All-India Muslim League to hold its next annual session in Bombay during the national week in December.

The story of that invitation and its startling sequel is too well known to be re-told in all the details of its shameful and subterranean intrigue so carefully conceived, so cleverly manipulated. Sufficient to say that in an hour of such grave and bitter crisis, calculated to shatter the masterdream of Indian nationalism, this dauntless soldier of unity rose to the heights of an invincible patriotism. With a proud and splendid indifference to all personal suffering and sacrifice, heedless alike of official dissuasion or disfavour, the aggressive malice and machinations of his opponents, or even the temporary injustice of distant friends, Muhammad Ali Jinnah strove with an incomparable devotion and courage to create that supreme moment in our national history which witnessed the birth of new India, redeemed and victorious in the love of her united children.

Seldom has the pageant of time unrolled a scene so touching, so thrilling, so magnificent with drama and destiny as was enacted on the afternoon of 30 December 1915, when amidst the tears and applause of a gathered multitude the veteran heroes of the National Congress entered in a body to greet and bless their comrades of the Muslim League.

The new year dawned cloudless for this valiant fighter of national battles, bringing him some of the highest awards of his professional and public career. He added much lustre to his forensic reputation by his masterly conduct of two sensational law-suits that aroused deep interest throughout the country, connected respectively with Mr. Horniman, the trusted friend, and Mr. Tilak, the beloved tribune of the Indian people.

In the autumn he was once more elected by his province to the Viceregal Council where he commands unanimous respect and esteem by his personal dignity of character and his fearless and vigilant championship of Indian rights and demands.

Towards the close of 1916 Muhammad Ali Jinnah was twice called upon to make a public declaration of his political creed, as President of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Ahmedabad in October and, two months later, as President of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. Both in his Gujrat address in which he indicated a tentative system of administrative reforms partly based on Gokhale's Scheme, since published, and in his Lucknow pronouncement where he so firmly and clearly defined the place and purpose of Muslim India in the national regeneration, he proved the remarkable breadth and boldness of his statesmanship, his consummate grasp of both the transitional phases and the abiding principles of political evolution, and his incorruptible faith in the vision of a free and federated India claiming her honoured place and making her matchless contribution in the mighty republic of world nations and civilisations.

As a speaker Muhammad Ali Jinnah has the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressiveand delivery a voice which, while lacking volume, has an arresting timbre. But though occasionally he has attained a moment of wholly unconscious and stirring eloquence, he has the cogent force of a brilliant advocate rather than the flowing fervour of a brilliant orator. And it is not on a public platform but at a round table conference that he finds full scope for his unusual powers of persuasion, luminous exposition, searching argument and impeccable judgment. It is an open secret that his was a large and open share in the recent discussions regarding the Muslim University as well as the anxious deliberations of the joint Congress-League Committee that sat at Lucknow last year to formulate a scheme of Indian reforms elaborated from the Memorandum of the Nineteen.

There was, it must be admitted, a growing surprise and reproach in the minds of his followers that so ardent an apostle of Indian Self-Government should hold aloof from the recently organised Home Rule movement which was rousing the country like a clarion call to freedon. It may have been partly due to a lingering sense of allegiance to a school of politics in which he had been trained, but whose timid and stationary doctrines he had long since outgrown or it may have been due to the habitual caution of a nature slow to commit itself to new and far-reaching responsibilities. However, the news of Mrs. Besant's internment last June, which evoked such unparallelled demonstrations throughout India, moved Muhammad Ali Jinnah to a prompt and militant chivalry in defence of immutable laws of justice and liberty so rashly and so ruthlessly assailed. He immediately joined the Bombay Home Rule League, not merely as a member, but undertook, as its President, the delicate task of guiding its fortunes and guarding its interest through that troubled period of its indignant activities.

To attempt at this stage more than a brief general survey of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's work were both untimely and unfair to a manin the very prime of life and on the threshold of his public achievement.

A casual pen might surely find it easier to describe his limitations than to define his virtues. His are none of the versatile talents that make so many of his contemporaries justly famed beyond the accepted circle of their daily labours. Not his the gracious gifts of mellow scholarship, or rich adventure or radiant conversation ; not his the burning passion of philanthropy or religious reforms. Indeed, by his sequestered tasks and temperament Muhammad Ali Jinnah is essentially a solitary man with a large political following but few intimate friendships, and outside the twin spheres of law and politics he has few resources and few accomplishments.

But the true criterion of his greatness lies not in the range and variety of his knowledge and experience but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit ; not in a diversity of aims and the challenge of a towering personality but rather in a lofty singleness of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity.

The tale of his actual contribution is still comparatively slender. But it is not by the substance but by the rare significance of his patriotic service that he holds to-day his unique place in the front rank of our national leaders.

Like others of our generation he suffers from a system of education so widely separated from the familiar traditions and culture of our race, and, lacking the magic of a common medium, he may never perhaps hope to establish between himself and his people that instructive and inviolable kinship that makes the interned Muhammad Ali, for instance, a living hero

of the Mussalmans and Muhatma Gandhi aliving idol of the masses.

But it is nonetheless his personal triumph and a testimony to his authentic mission that he stands approved and confirmed by his countrymen not merely as an ambassador but as an embodied symbol of the Hindu-Muslim unity.

Who can foretell the secrets of to-morrow ? Who foresee the hidden forces that sometimes work to build our destiny higher than our dream ? Perchance it is written in the book of the future that he whose fair ambition it is to become the Muslim Gokhale may in some glorious and terrible crisis of our national struggle pass into immortality as the Mazzini of the Indian liberation.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah

AMBASSADOR OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

by

MRS, SAROJINI NAIDU

Few figures of the Indian Renaissance are so striking or so significant ; to a student of psychology none more singularly attractive by the paradox of a rare and complex temperament, of strange limitations and subtle possibilities, that hides the secret of its own greatness like a pearl within a shell.

Never was there a nature whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit Muhammad Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is a deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality and endurance. Somewhat formal and fastidious, and a little aloof and imperious of manner, the calm hauteur of his accustomed reserve but masks,

the members of his family : one might very easily have become a spoilt child under these circumstances. But young Muhammad Ali exhibited an extra-ordinary passion for study. He was, very early in life, put to school and sent to the local Madrassah ; from the Madrassah, in due course, he went to the Mission School whence he appeared for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University.

EARLY INFLUENCES—GOKHALE

From his boyhood Jinnah developed a passion for his religion and his motherland. His ambition was to be considered one of the Faithful and at the same time one of India's worthy sons ; to put it shortly, he was anxious to earn the sobriquet, "The Muslim Gokhale". Gokhale was Jinnah's early model. In moving the resolution for a memorial to Gokhale at a meeting held in Bombay in May 1915 soon after Gokhale's death, he said :

> We mourn the death of Mr. Gokhale so deeply with the rest of India that I have no words at my command to adequately express our deep sorrow and grief. He was respected by the Muhamedans and the Hindus alike and trusted by both. He had endeared himself to all India by his single-mindness of purpose, the earnestness and zeal with which he worked and his absolute devotion to the cause of India as a whole. He was of late looked upon as an all-India man if such an expression is permissible. He was a great political Rishi, a master of the finances of India and the greatest champion of education and sanitation. He was a fearless critic and opponent of the measures of Government and the administration of the country but in all his action and utterances he was guided by reason and true moderation. Thus he was a help to Government

and a source of great strength and support to the people.

One of the greatest lessons that his life and work teach us is the example of what one single individual can achieve, how powerfully and materially he can help and guide the destinies of his country and his people and from whom millions can derive true lead and inspiration.

Personally I have had the honour of being one of the colleagues of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council for some years and to me it was always a matter of pride and pleasure to listen to him and often follow his lead.

Mr. Gokhale has left millions behind him to mourn his death but to millions his life and work will be a source of education and inspiration, especially to Young India. Once addressing the students in England, he advised them to keep their faces towards India always, no matter where they were and worked, like the Japanese who always has his face towards "Nipon."

In these words of Mr. Jinnah we notice what a great influence Gokhale had on his early life. Of Mr. Jinnah also it might be said that he was a fearless critic and opponent of the measures of Government and the administration of the country, but that in all his action and utterances he was guided by reason and true moderation which was Gokhale's. And like Gokhale, Mr. Jinnah is an all-India man. He is an Indian first and a Mussalman only afterwards ; or rather, as he himself put it in the course of the discussion on the Indian Finance Bill this year (1925) in the Imperial Legislative Assembly :

I never was a candidate and I am not a candidate for any post. . . . . . I, sir, stand here with a clear conscience

and I say that I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last. . . . . . I once more appeal to this House, whether you are a Mussalman or a Hindu, for God's sake do not import the discussion of communal matters into this House and degrade this Assembly which we desire should become a real national Parliament. Set an example to the outside world and our people.

IN ENGLAND

After matriculation at the Bombay University Jinnah went in 1892 to England to study for the Bar. He was scarcely sixteen and there is a picturesque portrait in words about his appearance then—"a tall thin boy in a funny long yellow coat." In England, he joined the Lincoln's Inn and kep this terms. In due time he was called to the Bar and he returned to India as a Barrister in 1896.

During his stay in England he came under the magic influence of Dadhabhai Naoroji and had the good fortune of taking his first lessons in politics from that veteran patriot. Dadhabhai was then the President of the London Indian Society and he acted as the guide, philosopher and friend of the Indian students in England ; young Jinnah soon attracted his attenion. Under the leadership of Dadabhai Jinnah developed a sound sense of political values and a genuine enthusiasm for fair play which were the outstanding features of Dadhabhai Naoroji's patriotism. It is no wonder that Gokhale noted his worth and said that Jinnah had true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudices which would make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

THE LONDON INDIAN ASSOCIATION

His five or six years' stay in England as a student induced him to take an active interest in the welfare of Indian students there and he never forgot them in his later annual visits. He

did his best to make himself acquainted with the feelings of the Indian students, as he said on the speech he made at the public meeting held in the 28th June 1913 at the Caxton Hall, Westminster. He felt the need for an Association and at that public meeting he moved a resolution to the following effect :

> This meeting of the Indian students in the United Kingdom resolves that a central society called the London Indian Association be formed with the following aims and objects. (1) To maintain and foster unity and to strengthen and encourage friendship between the Indian students in the United Kingdom by providing various opportunities for social intercourse and interchange of thought and ideas by holding (*a*) debates and discussions on various subjects of interest, (*b*) social gatherings and (*c*) by acquiring a clubhouse ; (2) Provided that this association does not take any part in actual and administrative politics.

In the course of his speech on that occasion he said :

> The position of the Indian students in this country is one without a parallel. The Indian student class is typically representative of the best the country can produce. They are, so to speak, the custodians of the reputation of India. Unfortunately just now, so far as the British public is concerned they have not a good name. Instead of conducting themselves merely as students and learning all they can of the civilization which the British people had taken centuries to build up they are tempted to use strong language in political questions. I will remind you that you are scarcely competent as yet to deal with the political problems presented by our country. Nobody appreciates more than I do the honesty of purpose or the patriotism which has induced you to do what you have done ; but

it is time that you seriously consider your position.

You might ask me what the proposed association is going to do. We are in the first place going to get rid of the exclusiveness which is the outcome of having many different clubs and societies. We are going to develop the opportunities for a wider national outlook.

To-day, in India, the men who were taking the most active part in politics are men who were educated in England and have returned home to serve our country. By all means mix with the English people and make friends among them. But make it your first duty while you are here to meet and understand your own countrymen. It is your presence in England that gives you an opportunity of coming in contact with others from all parts of India.

In conclusion, he pointed out that they must give the Government no cause to take precautionary measures, that they must observe a high code of honour and morality, that they shouid abandon strong language and hysterical ideas and become earnest workers and serious thinkers and that when they go back home they must become great missionaries in the cause of Progress.

We may be sure that Muhammad Ali Jinnah in England as a student conformed to these principles which later on he laid down for the guidance of the Indian students ; nor need we doubt that he utilised his stay in England to come into close contact with the people from different parts of India.

RETURN TO INDIA

Jinnah returned home to find his family involved in financial troubles. He was denied the welcome of a comfortable home

and the easy affluence in which he had lived when he left for England. The advantages of fortune were denied to the young barrister and Jinnah had to struggle through somehow during the lean years at the Bar. After three years of struggle and difficulties, Jinnah secured through the kind offices of an old friend of his family an introduction to Mr. MacPherson then acting Advocate-General of Bombay. Mr. MacPherson was kind and extended to the young Indian the privilege of reading in his chambers—an unprecedented thing in those days for a European Barrister to do. Occasional briefs now came to him and found him ready to utilise them in winning and building up a reputation for legal learning and powerful advocacy. Gradually Jinnah rose to power and to a leader's position at the Bar. In 1906 he was enrolled as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court. To-day Mr. Jinnah occupies an envied position at the Bombay Bar and commands a very extensive and lucrative practice.

AS A LAWYER

As a lawyer Mr. Jinnah is considered a very able and powerful advocate on facts and is respected as an authority on questions of law. In the debate on the Transfer of Ships Restriction Bill in particular and generally when questions of law were raised Jinnah always commanded a respectful hearing both in the old Imperial Council and in the new Legislative Assembly.

EARLY POLITICS

Mr. Jinnah has, from the very beginning, been a staunch Congressman ; his own political views have been shaped by association with Gokhale, Dadhabhai Naroji, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Chitta Ranjan Das. Speaking in the Legislative Assembly, he said :—

Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lesson in politics at the feet of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. I was associated with him as one of his followers and I looked up to him as a leader. He commanded the utmost respect of a large body of people in this country and of my humble self. Sir, as far as Mr. Das was concerned, he was a personal friend of mine. I have enjoyed his hospitality and he was one with whom I worked for many years.

On this occasion I should like to say this ; that these were leaders in this country for whom the Muhammadans had the greatest respect ; and they commanded the confidence of the Mussulmans as much as any Mussulman leader. Sir, the only lesson I feel that we might draw from the careers of these two great men is this : that in *Unity lies Salvation*.

THE AMBASSADOR OF UNITY

And Jinnah was pre-eminently fitted to be the 'Ambassador of Unity.' For though he represented purely communal constituencies both in the old reformed Council and in the New Legislative Assembly, he has always enjoyed the confidence of Hindus and Muslims alike.

And no wonder. For he belongs to a Khoja trading family ; the family trait brought in its wake cosmopolitan views of life and an intimate acquaintance with the Parsi community. A 'Khoja' inherits by birth the virtues of both Hinduism and Muhammadanism ; 'Hindu by race and Moslem by religion' as Sarojini Devi put it. He had the courtly and pacific demeanour of a Hindu combined with the virility and strength of purpose characteristic of a Moslem. And he married a daughter of Sir

Dinshaw Petit, a Parsi magnate of Bombay ; the marriage did not mean a deviation from orthodox Muhammadan religion ; for the faith permitted a marriage with a lady professing an alien religion. But the marriage brought in relief his cosmopolitan outlook. While like a true Khojah he retained the faith and the enthusiasm of a convert to Muhammadanism, his faith was rooted in the soil of true Indian nationalism.

A MOSLEM LEADER

Though certain orthodox Moslems looked askance and considered him outside the pale of orthodoxy, Mr. Jinnah, both in his inner life and in his outward conduct has proved himself a true believer as will be evident from the following extracts from his speech.

> There is one word more, Sir, before I finish. I do not think it is necessary to mention these things really, but one is forced into this lest one may be misunderstood. But for the present state of the Mussalman community and in some quarters in particular, I do not think it is necessary for any Mussalman to say that he would not do anything either in this Council or outside this Council which is likely to prejudice the interest or the cause of his community. I, Sir, yield to none in that respect. If this Bill (The Elementary Education Bill introduced by Gokhale) had been referred to a Select Committee and I wish it, if certain requirements were not embodied in this Bill by the Select Committee to safeguard the Mussalmans and if this Bill would have come before this Council without those requirements which I think will be necessary in the interest of the

Muhammadans in the present state of the condition of the people in this country, I would have been the first to oppose that Bill until and unless those requirements were incorporated in the Bill. But that is not the question, that is not the point before the Council today. Therefore I will only rest content by saying this: that if this Bill were referred to the Select Committee and if this Bill did not provide for certain requirements and modifications which I think are just in the interests of the Mussalmans. I would certainly then be the first to oppose it.

And take this passage from his speech on the Indian Shipping (Second Amendment) Bill.

Sir, I am one of those men who do not mind vilification or misrepresentation. Any man who enters into public life takes it as in the day's work that you are vilified and you are misrepresented. But that is not going to prevent us on the floor of this House from doing our duty according to our convictions. Now, Sir, as the Honourable Sir Muhammad Habibullah has said, if I thought that this measure was against the tenets of our religion, I certainly would not be a consenting party to it. Then if we are satisfied that it is not against Islam or the interests of Islam and the community, what is the next question that we have got to consider in this House? On the merits, is this Bill a beneficient Bill or is it not? That is the next question ....Well, Sir, I am satisfied that it is for the benefit of my community and therefore I have no hesitation in giving my assent to this Bill.

Passagesl ike this may be multiplied from the speeches where-

in he expresses it as his first argument of faith that the Mussalman should not debar from the tenets of his religion ; and even a consideration of what is beneficial to the Moslem community comes only afterwards.

It is this attachment to Muhammadan religion and Muhammadan law that inpelled him to sponsor the Wakf Validating Bill in the Imperial Council in 1913, sitting as a special member for an extra term for that purpose. Wakfs are religious endowments made by a Muhammadan ; and under the Muhummadan Law and religion, a wakf can be validly created for the benefit of the family of the author of the wakf. But the Privy Council, contrary to the accepted interpretation of the Muhummadan Law, decided that such a wakf is invalid if the ultimate benefit to the public is really illusory. Motives of public policy may support that decision and probably the decision on the whole might have been a blessing to the Moslem community. But Muhammad Ali Jinnah felt that public policy ought not to be the test. There must be no deviation from the Law. In the speech he made in support of the Bill he said :

> What we have got to do is to administer the Muhammadan Law to the Mussulmans, and therefore to introduce the question of public policy which is foreign to Islamic jurisprudence, to my mind is outside the question ; and therefore, there is no such earliug as public policy of any kind, so far as Muhammadan jurisprudence is concerned to which the provisions of this Bill are in any way opposed. I therefore give that simple answer to that point.

COUNCIL WORK

Indeed his position as a true Moslem leader has Mr. so unchallenged that we find him repeatedly con evid ned as a Muhammedan Member form Bombay since the first Imperial Legislative Council of it. Morley-Minto Reforms. In the Council Hall he intver brought in communal strife ; but at the same time he watched jealously and saw to it that the fact of the Moslems being in a minority was never used against their interests. And he never allowed encroachments on the interests of the Moslems, their laws and their religion. The result is that his work has been much appreciated. As a nationalist he made effective speeches on the Elementary Education Bill, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill and Transfer of Ships Restriction Bill. His speeches on the Police Administration, on the working of the Indian Railways and on the Budget are clear and to the point and constitute powerful attacks on the ways and methods of the bureaucracy. We may cite some passages as examples.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

In the course of his speech on the Elementary Education Bill, he said :

> I regret very much that some of my countrymen are opposed to this Bill. Well, Sir, it is our misfortune that there should be this difference of opinion. One thing I can assure this Council of, however, and that is this : that a great and overwhelming majority of my people are with me. When I was speaking on the Marriage Bill the other day, I frankly and openly admitted that I was supporting a minority, that the majority of my people were opposed to that measure. But my inner-

most convictions were in favour of that measure, and I felt it my duty to support the motion. In the same spirit, I ask those who are opposed to this Bill to concede to me that a great majority of my countrymen, Hindus and Mussulmans, are in favour of and support this Bill. That being so, Sir, I have a double satisfaction not only my innermost convictions are in favour of this Bill which shall always be the first and foremost consideration with me either in opposing or in supporting a measure, but I have the additional happiness that even the opinion of my countrymen, of the majority of them is in favour of it.

The brilliant manner in which he tore the arguments of Sir Harcourt Butler (who opposed the Bill) to shreds deserves to be carefully read alike for its cogency and eloquence.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL

Jinnah has pointed out in the course of his speech, that a frank and independent criticism of the Government or the measures of the Government is the duty of every member of the State. But he believed that there was a certain amount of misguided enthusiasm in the country ; enthusiasm which was subversive of law and order. Therefore in connection with the Criminal Law Amendment Bill he said :

I wish to express that nobody condemns in stronger terms the misdeeds of which a long list was given us a few minutes ago by the Home Member. I also wish to express that every attempt on the part of my countrymen to undermine the authority of the Government and to disturb law and order deserves, in my opinion,

the strongest condemnation and the highest punishment. These men have a desire to undermine the authority of the Government ; these men who have a desire to disturb law and order, are in my opinion, the highest enemies of my country and my people. They are to-day doing the greatest harm to the cause of India.

THE PRESS ACT

Mr. Jinnah has no sympathy for the revolutionary. He does not despair of reforming the Government and if he has moods of despair, he does not even then think the less severely of the anarchists and the revolutionaries who seek to undermine the Government.

His abhorrence of anarchism and the revolutionary led him to support the Press Act and in the same speech he justified his attitude in the following words :—

I remember, Sir, in 1910, when the Press Bill was introduced at Calcutta, much as we felt that a severe blow was going to be dealt at the liberty of the Press, much as we felt that our most prized liberty *viz*, the liberty of the Press was going to be curtailed, our hands were tied, our mouths were closed by the misdeeds of some of the misguided men who belong to our country, and we, almost as a body of non-official members, realised and felt that the Government was bound to take certain measures to maintain order and law ; and reluctant as we were, we felt that although we were losing what we prized most, *viz*, the liberty of the Press to a

certain extent, we not only supported it but we supported it with every power that was in our possession.

Then referring to the conditions of the time (April 1913) he said :

> On this occasion I feel that having regard to the history of political crimes, my hands are tied, my mouth is closed and my countrymen who are responsible for these deeds are responsible to-day for the position which I occupy in the Council at this moment.

And he uttered a grave note of warning to the misguided anarchists :

> Let those men who still have these misguided ideas, let those men who still have these hallucinations realise that, by anarchism, by dastardly crimes, they cannot bring about good Government : let them realise that those methods have not succeeded in any country in the world and are not likely to succeed in India. Let those men realise, before it is too late and before they bring their country into a position which may be regretted by every patriot who feels for and loves his Motherland ; let them realise that those are not the methods.

In the remaining portion of his speech, he discusses the legal aspects of the Bill and ends thus :

> With these remarks I have no alternative but to support the principle of the Bill and I trust that it will emerge from the Select Committee in a manner that will not go beyond the English law and that the safeguard I have indicated will be provided for.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT

Mr. Jinnah once said in the Imperial Council : "Sir, I believe in criticising the Government freely and frankly ; but at the same time that it is the duty of every educated man to support and help the Government when the Government is right." It was in pursuance of this policy that he did not oppose the Press Bill, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

It was in the same spirit that he welcomed the Indian Defence Force Bill. The same spirit animated his speech at the public meeting held in July 1917 in Bombay to pass a vote of confidence in Lord Hardinge.

> Why was it, he asked, that even now India was willing to bleed white without a murmur ? It was because they had a Viceroy who shared in their sorrows and who shared in their joys, who understood the hearts of the people of this country and who held liberal and generous ideas about their national progress.

The following passage indicates what, in Mr. Jinnah's opinion, is right for the Government to do.

> My Lord, if you want India to care for your Government, to stand by you, to co-operate with you, what we want is that the spirit of the Government should be Indian (no matter whether the personnel is foreign or Indian) and that on occasions when the interests of India are likely to suffer, when any injustice is going to be done, our Government and those who are at the head of the Government should stand up for us and speak for us as any Indian would do.

HIS WORK IN THE OLD IMPERIAL COUNCIL

We have so far considered the activities of Mr. Jinnah in the old Imperial Legislative Council, how he was a nationalist

first and last and how he supported all progressive Bills like the Elementary Education Bill and Civil Marriages Bill, how he stood by the Government as he felt himself in duty bound to do in the passing of the Press Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, how in the midst of his nationalist activities he did not forget his duty to his constituency but watched jealously lest the Mussalman interests should suffer at the hands of the majority and the Moslem well-being overlooked. We need not add that when the question of Primary Education came up again before the Imperial Legislative Council five years after Gokhale's Bill was thrown out, Mr. Jinnah fought both on principle and for the sake of Gokhale's revered memory for the grant of free and compulsory primary education.

Before passing on to consider Mr. Jinnah's relation with the Congress and the Moslem League and the Home Rule Movement andthe present Legislative Assemblywhere he is the leader of the *national its* party we might usefully considercertain subsidiary matters.

MR. JINNAH AND THE STUDENTS

From the time when he was an Indian student in England, Mr. Jinnah kept a continued interest in students and in education. He was never tired of addressing students and advising them. Delivering the inaugural address at the Bombay Moslem Students' Union in February 1915 he emphasised firstly the value of discipline and secondly of self-reliance ; and he said :

> Then again one of your chief objects should always be co-operation, unity and goodwill, not only among the different sections of Mahamedans but also between the Mahammadan and other communities of this country. As citizens, you would have to share the burden of work, when your student days are over, with other

communities ; and it would be therefore better if you started at the earliest possible opportunity to try to understand the other communities ; that would be the surest way of progress in this country. There was one thing which must be realised by every thinking person as essential. If progress was to be made it would not be by dissensions. Unity was absolutely essential to progress.

Lastly, he always insisted on advising that students should not take an active part in politics ; but he also urged that they must take an interest in and understand politics ; for, in India, politics had become the life-blood of the people and it was therefore no use shutting their eyes to it.

Mr. Jinnah also fought for the removal of restrictions on admission which English educative centres imposed on Indian students. He took a prominent part in the agitation for simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service ; he fought for and obtained new openings for educated Indians ; and he welcomed the Indian Defence Force Bill on this account.

Mr. Jinnah does not object to a foreign personnel in the Government ; he does not want to exclude Englishmen from the Indian Civil Service or from India. What he, with the rest of his politically minded countrymen, fights for is equal treatment ; equal oppoitunities for service being given to the Englishman and to the Indian. What he objects to are the three monopolies that the Englishmen enjoy in India (1) the monopoly of power in the administration of the country (2) the monopoly of commerce and (3) the military monopoly.

AS A CONGRESSMAN

From the beginning Mr. Jinnah was an ardent Congressman. His early influences ensured that ; he attracted consider-

able attention at the Calcutta Congress of 1906 at whose historic sessions Dadhabhai Naoroji, as President, enunciated the ideal of Swaraj for India. Mr. Jinnah was then acting as Naoroji's private secretary. He had been regularly attending the 'big meetings' every year. At this Congress he made his maiden speech on family wakfs about which he put up such a fight later on in the Legislative Council.

ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE

Being a Congressman, the narrow sectarianism which actuated the Moslem League in its inception kept Jinnah away from participation in it. But his sympathies were in favour of the Mussulmans and their forming a League to advance themselves and their country. At the request of the League (which showed a great respect for Mr. Jinnah even when he kept out of it) he attended the Conference of Hindu and Moslem leaders at Allahabad convened in 1910 under the presidency of Sir William Wedderburn. Doubtless, he worked for Unity even then, although the times were not favourable. But the times changed and with it Moslem opinion. In 1912 there was a conference of Muslim leaders at Calcutta to consider the remodelling of the constitution of the All-India Moslem League "on more progressive and patriotic lines." Its secretary went on an extensive tour gathering Moslem opinion. And in December a special council meeting of the League met to consider proposal at which Mr. Jinnah was invited to be present and to render help although he was outside the League ; His Highness the Aga Khan presided and an entirely new constitution was drafted which was ultimately enthusiastically adopted at the Special Sessions of the League at Lucknow on the 22nd March 1913. At this Lucknow meeting, Mr. Jinnah, still an outsider, gave his invalu able though informal support to clause D of the new constitution which materially embodied the Congress ideal of "attain-

ment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of Self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting unity, by fostering public spirit and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose."

The year 1913 marks an era in Mr. Jinnah's life. Already he had sat three years in the Legislative Council. This year, he introduced and successfully piloted the Wakf Validating Bill. For the first time a Bill introduced by a private member became law. He displayed during the progress of the Bill great powers as a tactician and debater and his powers in effecting unity were brought into play. Now that the League had a new constitution, he was persuaded by its sponsors, Mohamed Ali and Syed Wazi Hussain, to join it. He was enrolled as a member in autumn 1913 ; the enrolment was to him a sacrament. His sponsors were required to make a solemn preliminary covenant that loyalty to the interests of the Muslim League and the Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even a shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause.

WITH GOKHALE IN ENGLAND

About the middle of April 1913 Mr. Jinnah left for England in the company of Gokhale for a long holiday. But there could be no holiday for the active and energetic minds of Gokhale and Mr. Jinnah. As Mrs. Sarojini Naidu guesses with characteristic poetic vision and accuracy, "the Arabian stars and the Egyptian waters keep record, doubtless, of their mutual hopes and dreams for the country of their devoted service." And once in England, Jinnah could not keep idle. He founded the London Indian Association. He fought for the removal of the restrictions on Indian students. He made a study of the working of the India Council. When he again returned to England

in 1914 as a member of the Congress Deputation concerning the reform of the India Council, this study was particularly useful.

REFORM OF THE INDIA COUNCIL

For, by this time, he became a full-fledged Congressman taking a prominent part in every Session. At the Congress session at Karachi in 1913 he moved for the abolition of the Council as then constituted and its reconstruction on sound and progressive lines. His chief suggestions were (1) that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates (2) that the independence of the Council should be secured by providing for election by the members of the Legislative Councils in India, and (3) that the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative. In commending the resolution for the acceptance of the Congress he remarked that the then constitution of the Council made the Secretary of State a greater Moghul than any Moghul that ruled in India. He pointed out that the objection to the existing constitution was that the Council consisted of men with settled opinions, that there was no place for the representation of the views of non-official Indians and that the Council unduly interfered with the details of the administration. He emphasised this opinion in the Agra Session of the Moslem League at about the same time. And in the speech delivered by him in London at the party given to the Congress delegates by Sir William Wedderburn, he strongly criticised the proposed portfolio system and fought for seats in the Council to be filled up by election from India. He expounded the Congress proposals on this matter in clear and unambiguous terms and strongly supported them by a statement to the LONDON TIMES criticising the Bill introduced by the Secretary of State.

> I cannot but say that the provisions contained therein are most disappointing and I feel sure that that is how the people of India will receive it ; what hope can measures like this inspire in the people of India who are working forward to bigger and more substantial reform in time to come when in matters such as the reform of the Council of the Secretary of State for India which is after all more advisory in its character than anything else, the just proposals of the Deputation appointed by the Indian National Congress have not been accepted.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

The untimely death of Gokhale in 1915 stirred Jinnah into greater political activity. He was chosen as the President of the All-India Moslem League which met at Lucknow in the Christmas week 1916. At about the same time (October 1916) he presided over the Bombay Provincial conference at Ahmedabad. Already Mr. Jinnah was looking ahead for the Reforms. In the course of his Presidential Address at Ahmedabad he said :

> Granting that there is peace, prosperity and efficient administration in the hands of the civil servants is that any reason that the control the management and the administration of the affairs of our country should for ever be continued as a monopoly in the hands of a bureaucratic Government . . . . . . Is that any reason why the commissioned ranks in the Military and Naval Services should be closed to the sons of India ? In that any reason for denying to Indians the right to join the Volunteer Corps and for continuing the application of the 'Arms Act ? . . . . The first question that

arises is whether this system of administration conducted by the Civil servants who are neither under the control of or responsible to the people who pay their salaries can any longer continue. It is said that they are responsible to the Secretary of State for India and that the Secretary of State for India in his turn is responsible to Parliament . . . . . Is it Possible or natural as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India ? When it was found that that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South Africa, with few millions of population, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London ?

Mr. Jinnah is nothing if he is not constructive and clear ; and in this address he mapped out form of administration he would like to set up in his Province, embodying the principles of devolution and decentralization.

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

And then he passed on to consider the need for separate electorates :

> To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand, the demand for separate electorate is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity to the Muhammadans who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long.

And after pleading for Unity and concerted action by the Hindus and Mahammadans he ended with this peroration :

In conclusion, let me tell you that after all a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Mahammadans, united and firm, the voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has, I believe, turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and a great future in front of her. We are on a straight road ; the promised land is in sight, 'Forward' is the motto and clear course for Young India. But in the onward march, we must be circumspect, and never lose sight of the true perspective before us. And Wisdom and Caution should be our watchwords.

ADDRESS TO THE MOSLM LEAGUE

The Moslem League Address followed closely on this speech. He spoke of India's loyalty to the Empire ideal.

What India has given in the fellowship of service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British Nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the stranger of the fighting forces of civilisation, which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically-organized barbarism. In this willing service of the people of India there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion. In this service there has been no cold calculated instinct at work. It has sprung from a clear compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and not from any commercial desire to make

a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself.

After considering "a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively when the least menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power," he emphasised that India was fit for freedom and that she is determined to convince the British Empire that she is fit for the place of a partner within the Empire and that nothing less would satisfy India. He went on to point out the spirit of Unity that actuated the Hindus and the Mussulmans. There was a simultaneous sitting of the Congress and the League at Bombay in 1915. There was a simultaneous sitting again at Lucknow in 1916. How much of the credit for this Unity is Mr. Jinnah's is obvious from this passage from his League Address in 1916.

> The simultaneous sessions were brought about with no little labour, anxiety and trouble. I do not wish to go into past controversy but I venture to say that the session of the All-India Moslem League at Bombay will go down to posterity as peculiarly interesting in its results ....The League rose phoenix-like, stronger, more solidified and determined in its ideals and aspirations, with added strength of resolution in carrying out its programme ....The main principle on which the first All-India Moslem Political Organisation was based was the retention of Moslem communal individuality strong and unimpaired any constitutional readjustment that might be made in India in the course of its political evolution. The creed has grown and broadened with the growth of political life and thought in the community.

> I have been a staunch congressman throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of separation sometimes levelled at Mussulmans is singularly inept and wide of the mark when I see this great communal organisation rapidly growing into a powerful factor for the birth of United India. A minority must above everything else have a complete sense of security before its broader political sense can be evoked for co-operation and united endeavour in the national tasks ; to the Mussulmans of India that security can only come through adequate and effective safeguards as regards their political existence as a community.

So much in justification of the communal spirit of the Muhammedans. We have an inkling that Mr. Jinnah's own views are different, for he says :

> Whatever my individual opinion may be, I am here to interpret and express the sense of the overwhelming body of Moslem opinion of which the All-India Moslem League is the political organ.

THE CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME

Then he spoke of the Congress-League scheme in moulding which he took an active part, and of the need to have a Bill drafted by constitutional lawyers as an Amending Bill to the Government of India Act. Mr. Jinnah was one of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council who submitted the famous Memorandum on the Reforms and a new constitution. His part in this and in the Congress-League Deputation to England to effect changes in the proposed Montford Reforms and his evidence before the Joint Committee are not dealt with here as they form part of the general movement for reforms. He said in his address :

I was one of the signatories (to the memorandum of the nineteen members) and I would urge upon you to follow them (the proposals) substantially so far as fundamental principles are involved in those demands were formulated by responsible men who owe duty to the Government and the people alike as 'chosen representatives' and not in a spirit of bargaining; those demands are the minimum in the strict sense of the word ....Co-operation in the cause of our Motherland should be our guiding principle.

It is by these active steps in the cause of Unity that Muhammed Ali Jinnah earned the sobriquet of "the Ambassador of Unity." As early as 1913, Mr. Jinnah said "we have now reached the active stage when we realise that we must co-operate with one another for national work." Ever since, he had worked to bring about a union between the League and the Congress, between the moderates and the extremists. He was in turn a Congressman, a Moslem Leaguer and a Home Ruler and President of the Bombay Home Rule League:

I wish to say why it was that I joined the Home Rule League. When representations were made and resolutions passed year after year by the National Congress, when their demands were pressed last year in that carefully drafted memorandum of the 19 members of the Imperial Council, it was said that that was only the demand of a few educated agitators and lawyers, but that the masses were not ready for any such reform. It was to meet that attack, which was made in this country as well as in England, it was to remove that misrepresentation that they resolved that they should be an educative propaganda, and that they should reach the masses and put the verdict of the masses not only before the bureaucracy but before the

democracy of Great Britain. (October 1917, at the Allahabad Home Rule League.)

He moved for the adoption of the Congress-League Scheme in the Calcutta Congress and ably defended it against criticism. He also seconded the Self-Government Resolution in the same Congress. He had alreadyin 1915 issued appeals to Moslem leaders to attend the simultaneous sessions in Bombay. The following is from his appeal :

I wish to state with the greatest emphasis that there is no truth in the baseless statements made in some quarters that any responsible Mahammadan leader thinks that the League should be merged into the Indian National Congress. But conference in collaboration, if possible, is the object, and what objection is there to this course ?

IN THE ASSEEBLY

With the advent of the Reforms Mr. Jinnah found himself in his proper place in the Legislative Assembly, and there he organised the Nationalist party. He took an active part in the debate for the grant of full Self-Governing Dominion status to India and supported Pandit Moti lal Nehru. A passage from his evidence before the Joint Committee was cited to him where he said in answer to a particular question :

We have no other method to suggest. Dyarchy fits in more with the order of things as they exist at present in India and it can be justified on the ground that it is for a transitional period.

Mr. Jinnah replied "my proposal was that there should be dyarchy in the Central Government also—" and he added : "We have realised, Sir, that dyarchy has failed."

THE REFORMS REPORT

Mr. Jinnah found an excellent opportunity to emphasise

these wiews in an authoritative document. He was one of the Members of the Reforms Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Alexander Muddiman. The publication of the Report in March 1925 was an important stage in the history of the reform movement in India. The Majority Report signed by the President and four others upheld the present system and suggested some trivial modifications in the Act with a view to pacify the national demand which was becoming insistent. While the Minority Report which was signed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Dr. Paranjpye and Mr. Jinnah boldly put the case for dropping dyarchy altogether. The signatories pointed out :—

> In our opinion, the system of Dyarchy was during the first three years everywhere worked in the Legislatures by men most of whom were professedly its friends and who, generally speaking, tried to work it in that spirit of reasonableness which is referred to by the majority of our colleagues, and it is no exaggeration to say—indeed this is also the testimony of several local Governments which we have quoted above—that generally a spiiit of harmony and co-operation prevailed between the Legislature and the Executive notwithstanding the fact that the atmosphere outside was for sometime markedly unfavourable. The Indian Ministers and members of Executive Committee also, upon whom new opportunities of service were conferred, appeared to us to have been with the sphere of their Executive duties, equally eager to work the Constitution in the same spirit of reasonableness, and yet differing from the majority of our colleagues we have been forced to the conclusion that the present system

has failed and in our opinion it is incapable of yielding better results in future.

AN INDIAN SANDHURST

In the Budget speeches he effectively criticised the Government policy, especially in the matter of the Army. He was perhaps in his best form in attacking the bureaucracy in respect of its Army policy. In Feb. 1925 a resolution was moved in the Assembly urging the Governor-General-in-Council to take early steps for starting a well-equipped Military College in India. Mr. Jinnah's speech on this occasion made a profound impression on the House as well as on the Government. In a series of searching questions and cross examination he strongly criticised the Government's delay in taking steps to Indianise the army. He went so far as to question their *b na fides* with regards to their promises of early concession to the legitimate military ambitions of Indians. It was in fact this speech that made the appointment of the Skeen Committee inevitable.

NOT A WRECKING PROGRAMME

In his speech upon a discussion of the demands for grants in the Assembly, Mr. Jinnah made the position of the Nationalist party clear (11-3-1924). He said :

> I want to make it clear further that the Nationalist party here in this House do not stand for any wrecking programme. In this Assembly, we stand to pursue a policy and a programme of a constitutional character. We shall pursue that policy and that Programme until the last stages of the constitutional struggle are exhausted. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist party to resort to civil disobedience. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist party that we want revolution. There is no idea in the mind of the

> Nationalist party that we are going to carry on a campaign of non-payment of taxes.

Mr. Jinnah fought for protection to Indian industries in the Assembly even when it affected the interests of the city of Bombay which he represented :

> I say I am not going to be guided by my own city that I love............I have got here as a Member of this Assembly to consider the larger and national interests ; and that is the one consideration which weighs with me in this Assembly and I hope that is the only consideration which will always weigh with me. Certainly, I would be the first to assist Bombay if I could, but not at the expense of larger interests.

He supported the motion for the unconditional release of the Gurudwara prisoners.

THE LEE REPORT

Mr. Jinnah's independent attitude to political questions was never more explicit than in his protest against the Lee Report. He recognized the work and worth of the Superior Services in India but protested strongly against the extravagant claims of the Services, claims which are incompatible with the policy of Indianisation besides being a heavy drain on the finances of India. At the same time he urged that his own community should have an equal opportunity to serve the administration. In supporting the Resolution of the Assembly on the Lee Commission Report he said :

> Speaking on behalf of my colleagues here who would agree with me, the Muhammadans do not desire anything else but their just and fair share and their proper rights and I feel confident also that there is no Hindu Member in this House who would for a single moment

grudge to the Mussulmans their just and fair rights; and I am glad that the Home Member has also recognised that in his speech.

THE BENGAL ORDINANCE

Mr. Jinnae opposed the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill in very strong terms. He never minced his words in his criticism of the bureaucracy.

It is nothing else but a disgrace to any civilised Government to resort to a measure of this character............I repeat without fear of contradiction that when the Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor General it was condemned universally by the people of India. That Ordinance has not expired yet. It could be in force for six months only. In the face of public opinion, the obstinacy of the Government has gone to this length, that instead of coming to this Legislature they take shelter under the local Legislature. They go to the Bengal Council, what did they find there? The Legislature of Bengal rejected the Bill; and how was it enacted? It was enacted by a process of certification, a certification which required the assent of his Majesty. And here I may say that I am shocked that such an abhorrent measure, that this abomination should have been placed on the table of the British Parliament and should have been allowed to pass the scrutiny and the resentment which ought to have been shown against this measure; I am one of the greatest admirers of the British Parliament, but when the British Parliament has come to this, I think I am entitled to say that certainly it has lost the title of Mother of parliaments which it claims...... Why is it that we show this resentment? Why is it that we are opposed to it so much? Why is it that it

> goes against our grain ? The reason is a very simple one, and it is this—that by this measure you are not giving any protection to the innocent, that the innocent are likely to be persecuted that this is an engine of oppression and of repression of legitimate movements in this country and it has been abused in the past and there is every likelihood of its being abused in the future.

Speaking on the Ordinance he had already pointed out the danger in clear terms :

> I owe allegiance to the King Emperor. What do I get in return for it, what do I claim in return for it ? Protection of my liberty, my life and my property. My liberty should not be taken away without a judicial trial in a proper court where I have all the right to defend myself. Under this Ordinance, if I were a citizen of Calcutta, I should have to transfer my allegiance to Mr. Tegart the Commissioner, because he is the only man who can give me protection and not His Majesty's High Court or His Majesty's Courts.

Mr. Jinnah took an active part in the discussion on the Special Laws Repeals Bill, on the Indian Finance Bill, on the Maternity Benefits Bill and supported the resolution for the establishment of a Supreme Court for India. And whatever might be his views on the political problems of the day, whether he supported a Bill or attacked it, whether he moved or opposed a resolution or debated on questions of public importance with the Government or with the Swarajist party he always took an independent attitude in the interests of the country according to his lights.

BOMBAY REPRESENTATIVES' CONFERENCE

It is this transparent sincerity of purpose and candour of

utterance, this willingness to consider and to pay regard to the opinions of others and to adopt them as his own when he was convinced, this toleration for people with other views that characterised the part he played in the Bombay Representatives' Conference and in all his other enterprises as the "Ambassador of Unity". A full report of the proceedings of the Conference of Reprsentatives has been published and it shows what a great part Mr. Jinnah took in it for the sake of promoting Unity and for presenting a united demand.

MR. JINNAH'S MOVE FOR A NEW PARTY

In the Assembly, we have seen that Mr. Jinnah took an independent attitude, sometimes voting with the Liberals and sometimes with the Swarajists. He found he could not go with either Party completely and he invariably found himself the leader of a centre Party. In the closing weeks of 1925 the Swaraj Party was torn with dissensions arising out of what was known as the Tambe controversy. The Party split itself in twain, some favouring responsive co-operation and others swearing by obstruction. At this time Mr. Jinnah was endeavouring to effect a coalition of all or most of the existing Parties, or, if that was found impossible, to create the nucleus of a new Nationalist or Central Party, which might in course of time, attract to itself Swarajists on the Left, and Liberals on the Right. Mr. Jinnah, accordingly convened a meeting to consider this question and made every effort to bring about a new Party. He made the following statement on the formation of a common party in the country :

> My own opinion is that a party, on the lines of the Independent Party in the Assembly, should be formed, outside, in the country, because I know that a large bulk of opinion in the country does not approve either the policy and programme of the Swaraj Party and

what is its practised policy or the Programme of the Liberal Party and what is practised by them I strongly hold that the time has come when a definite organisation should be started, which will stand midway between the two, so that we may level up the Liberals, and level down the Swarajists. Until the public at large realise that, at present it is the only feasible and practicable way open, I fear the Government is not likely to be affected. As I have already said, empty and impotent threats will only give the Government a handle to report to reactionary measures and a ruthless policy of repression under the name of 'law and order'. The only use that we can make of the legislatures is, 'to create strong and powerful Oppositions to the Government, Standing there as the people's party and backed up by the people throughout the country, we must carry on our struggle ihch by inch. In the meantime, we must organise and train up our electorates not necessarily as framed under the rules the Government of India Act, but our natural electorates.

AS A SPEAKER

Mr. Jinnah is not yet past middle age. He has not completed his fiftieth year. He has had a bright career and a more brilliant one awaits him. He has, in the words of Mrs. Saro ini Naidu 'the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery, and a voice which while lacking in volume has an arrestiag timbre.' He has 'the cogent force of a brilliant advocate,' and at round table conferences, his genius finds the fullest scope ; 'his extraordinary powers of persuasion, his luminous exposition, his searching argument, and his impeccable judgment' are revealed at their best when he sits in committee.

(FROM EMINENT
MUSSALMANS,—1926)

That is the promised "goods" of the Premier (?). The [illegible] Party and what it precedes [illegible] of atonement [illegible] And that we there [illegible] when [illegible] [illegible] been stopped he started [illegible] between the two so that we [illegible] and level down the [illegible]. Hence the [illegible] agreement is that, in [illegible], the only [illegible] and catholic [illegible]. I fear the [illegible] is not likely to be expected. As I have already said, [illegible] and impotent threats will only give the Government a handle to resort to [illegible] and [illegible] policy of repression under the name of law and order. The only use that we can make of the [illegible] is to create [illegible] and powerful Opposition [illegible] the Government. Standing there as the people's [illegible] and backed up by the people throughout the country, we must carry on our struggle [illegible]. In the meantime we must organise and train [illegible] [illegible] framed under the [illegible] the Government of India Act, but [illegible].

AS A SPEAKER

Mr. [illegible] Bose is not yet past middle-age. He has [illegible] [illegible] He has had a bright career and a [illegible] brilliant [illegible]. He has, in the words of Mrs. [illegible] Naidu, [illegible] of a magnetic presence, [illegible] and a [illegible] while [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Quaid-i-Azam As I Knew Him

by

DEWAN CHAMAN LAL

This is going to be an exercise in memory ; but, I must confess memory that brings the bouquet of halcyon days spent with men who have left a deep impression upon the sands of history. It is said of Alexander the Great that he was forgotten within a year or so of his invasion and remembered only as Bogey Sikand, conjured by irate mothers to frighten their obstreperous children with. This, unfortunately, is the fate of all conquerors. But in the case of the fighters for freedom it is a somewhat different matter. They live not only in memory but in the hearts of the people for whom they fought. And the Quaid-i-Azam, as he later came to be known, was no exception.

It was a cold bleak evening in London, just after the First World War, when I was summoned to a flat, I believe, near Regent's Park to meet the newly-married Muhammad Ali Jinnah He had come to London with his beautiful wife and had won the heart of everyone who came into contact with him. He had tremendous dignity. He was immaculately dressed. although a bit more formally than even formality demanded. But there was nothing apart and aloof about him. Those were the days of accessible leaders who vied one with the other to mix with all and sundry. But as far as Mr. Jinnah was concerned it was part of his nature. Dressed as he used to, there was a touch of the *histrionic* about him ; nevertheless, with his amazing sense of humour he refused to take other people seriously just as much as he refused to take himself seriously. Taking oneself seriously meant stuffiness and pomposity and in that sense he was opposed to the striking of such an attitude.

Uninhibited Laughter

And so when I mounted the steps to the flat and found myself presently in the company of Mr. Jinnah, this was the picture of the man that registered itself on my mind—the picture of a man you took to instantaneously, a man who disarmed you with his informality and a feeling that he was one of you and above all with his uninhibited laughter when telling a funny story which was often in the category of a parable.

It would be wrong to say that he behaved with everyone on that level. When he was hurt or thought he was hurt he could be very different indeed.

First Talk

I had hardly got down to my cup of tea with a bitten sandwich in my hand, when Mr. Jinnah suddenly turned to me to pose a question. To understand Jinnah you must

remember that his mind was one of the most active I have known. He was always posing questions, ready to argue about anything because he was deeply interested in life and his own reaction to it. I will put down my first talk with him in 1911 as nearly as I can remember it.

Jinnah : You know that I am going to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill.

Myself : I know. Tilak is probably following you. I have just seen him and I have not known a man who is preparing for the ordeal as he is—literally at it day and night with all his advisers about him—Khaparde, Kelkar and your friend Joseph Baptista and the rest. We have not been told what it is going to be about. On the contrary we have been rushing up and down the country addressing meetings. Deep (Deep Narayan Singh), Horniman, Andrew MacLaren (later Labour M.P.), Satyanmurti and myself.

Jinnah : What sort of meeting ?

Myself : Oh ! mostly labour rallies, but most enthusiastic. We have just returned from Cardiff.

Jinnah : You see what is bothering me is the one question the Committee is bound to ask me. Now what is the answer ?

The question is a simple one—How do you justify an advance in self-government with a literacy percentage of only 12 or perhaps less ?

I had not long ago finished my Finals at Oxford in Jurisprudence. I was a bit of an authority on Constitutional Law, Legal History and Jurisprudence. I had done well in these subjects and, apart from the knowledge I possessed, I had the brass and cheek of a newly arrived graduate of the University of Oxford and, therefore, I said simply almost airily:

"Well, that presents no difficulty whatsoever. All you have to do is to pose a counter-question.

"Did the lack of literacy prevent you from going ahead with your successive Reforms Acts which continuously enlarged the franchise ? And if it was good for England why should it be bad for India ?

I remember vividly his slapping himself with delight (I remember the striped trousers and a very highly starched and very white shirt cuff with cuff-links of amethyst set in gold).

When his turn came to give evidence in the House of Lords where the committee sat—a committee which included Lord Sinha as a member—pat came the question and pat came the answer, to the evident satisfaction and delight of all of us. Jinnah seldom failed to score a point. Poor Lokmanya Tilak. He came ready to answer questions, if necessary, right through the week. The Chairman looked at him, took his prepared statement, put it on one side and freezingly bowed to the old man who was completely dumbfounded. No questions were asked of Lokmanya Tilak of course it made our blood boil.

A little late Mrs. Jinnah went with her husband to the theatre one night. They sat in a box but had to leave it hurriedly and return home quickly. That night their only child was born.

I did not see Jinnah for a couple of years after my meeting with him in London, but when I returned to India in the New Year (1920) I went straight to Mount Pleasant Road only to find that he had gone away with his wife Rati to Ootacamund for a holiday.

I left for the Punjab and dutifully applied to be enrolled as an Advocate of the High Court of Judicature. On the basis of my political activities in Great Britain I was refused enrol-

ment. I was told very curtly that if the application was put up the following year it would be considered. It was obvious that the Judiciary had been influenced by the Executive—a scandalous state of affairs. When I returned to Bombay Jinnah was horrified to hear of what had happened. He insisted that we should proceed to test the authority of the High Court and, if necessary, to take the matter up to the Privy Council.

I said : "No ; it is not worth the candle. Besides it will give me time to devote myself to the organisation of labour," in which work my heart was deeply immersed.

It must not be forgotten that one of the most characteristic qualities that Jinnah possessed was his unshakable faith in constitutionality. An incident like the one I have related shocked him immensely. I dined with the Jinnah's that night.

Chairman of Bombay Chronicle

The next morning I received a telephone call asking me whether I would like to take on the leader writership of *The Bombay Chronicle.* Jinnah was then the Chairman of the Board of Directors, I agreed on the condition that I would not join earlier than after the summer was over and left immediately for Mussoorie.

Another drama was being enacted in Mussoorie. The Afghan Peace Delegation was housed in the Savoy Hotel. So also were father and son, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Prime Minister of India, and the day of my arrival both had been ordered to be externed from Mussoorie. Naturally (there were no motor cars in those days plying up to Mussoorie) riding up the short cut from Rajpura I was accompanied by a secret service man who wanted to know all about my purpose in visiting Mussoorie.

Hardly had I spent the weekend at Mussoorie when I was summoned peremptorily to Bombay to take charge of my

post—Syed Hussain had left to join *The Independent* at Allahabad, the new paper started by Pandit Motilal Nehru.

His successor Pothan Joseph had left to join *Capital* in Calcutta. I arrived, in these circumstances, to find a difficult situation facing me but I was glad that Jinnah's choice had justified itself—the circulation started steadily mounting until in a short while it had doubled itself.

We were both members of the Indian National Congress. We travelled together to the Nagpur Session. Jinnah got down at a wayside station to stretch his legs—the tall, dignified figure who seldom did this sort of thing as exercise of any sort was taboo to him. I heard one young man, who had been watching him closely for some time, say to another :

"Look there goes Shaukat Ali."

"Nonsense," said his companion, "Shaukat Ali is a big fat man. This is not Shaukat Ali."

"I tell you, this is Shaukat Ali. He has gone very thin, of course, what do you expect ? Khilafat worries."

Last Speech from Congress Platform

In those days Jinnah was not so wellknown as a person and the public outside Bombay knew little of him personally. This was the time Khilafat Movement and Gandhiji's impending Civil Disobedience Movement. Both movements were unconstitutional and went against the grain as far as Jinnah was concerned. Nagpur saw the final breach between Jinnah and the Congress. It was the last occasion that I saw him make a speech from a Congress platform

But although Jinnah had left the Congress, he was just as ardent a nationalist, just as ardently desiring freedom for his country as any person in the land. He had chalked out for himself a different path to the path Gandhiji was about to tread

for the achievement of freedom. He believed in a constitutional approach and not a revolutionary approach. He believed in the preservation of law and order and not its breach—no matter in what good cause.

Soon we found ourselves together in the Central Legislative Assembly after the General Election of 1923. Jinnah's advocacy before the Joint Select Committee in London was justified. The electorate, although mostly illiterate, was obviously intelligent. It was a momentous session. Much had happened during the three years between Jinnah's departure from Nagpur Session of the Congress and the holding of the second general election under the Montague Reforms. First and foremost was the return of a most influential wing of the Congress to the ways of constitutional agitation. Under the leadership of Maulana Azad, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshabandhu C. R Das was formed the Swarajya Party at Lucknow in 1922 pledged to strive for freedom but pledged equally not to neglect the great opportunity afforded to us in the various legislatures of the country. Tulsi and I were founder members of the Party. On the limited franchise the country voted overwhelmingly for us—but owing to the factor of the special interest constituencies which were just pocket boroughs, and the large number of officials and nominated members who adorned the treasury benches, the popular forces were not able to muster, each separately, a clear majority in a house of 144 members.

Independent Party

We met in Delhi in three separate parties. The first was the Sawarajya Party, the second the National Party of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the third the Independent Party of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who had, later on, as his right-hand man and Secretary of the Party, my old friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who performed his duties with remarkable skill and intelligence. We came from neighbouring towns in Pakistan

and we do not know how far back in history our families had known each other.

Firm Stand

It became apparent that a great opportunity had arisen of forming a united front against our rulers. After preliminary talks among the leaders we succeeded in forming a united nationalist party consisting of 76 members which gave us a clear majority which was designed to paralyse the Government. Unfortunately, this unity was shortlived.

It was the Budget Session. Jinnah was approached along with Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar of Malaviyaji's Party for the purpose of united action on the budget. The Swarajist suggestion was that all items in the Budget should be voted down. Jinnah's view was that this was unconstitutional and revolutionary and that, for the purpose of demonstration, it was necessary to vote down only the first item and discuss the others on their merits. The fat was in the fire. Along with Tulsi Goswami I went to and fro from Eastern Court to Maidens Hotel trying to bring about an understanding but, alas in vain. Both Motilal Nehru and Jinnah stood firm, an augury of what was to happen a few years later.

We had on the one side the "khadi"-clad leaders of the Swarajya Party and on the other the tall, fine figure of Jinnah dressed in a morning coat and striped trousers. His ties were always a wonder to us. My wife asked him one day whether it was a mere surmise on her part or the truth that Jinnah never wore a tie twice. Jinnah looked pleased and said ; "Well, seldom, very seldom" I reminded him of the day we spent together in Paris in 1928 roaming the shops to buy ties and shirts. After seeing hundreds of ties he, at last, chose one—he was fastidious to that extent. And as for shirts, he had them made for him at Charves in Paris and pretty nearly put me on short rations because I could not resist ordering a few myself.

Hard as Steel

Friendly as he always was, he could be on occasions as hard as steel. Somehow or other a rift had arisen between husband and wife and the same year in Paris I found Rati Jinnah almost on her death-bed at a Champs Elysee clinic. A message was waiting for me to call at the clinic immediately on my arrival from Geneva where I had gone as head of the Indian workers delegation to the I.L.O Conference. They took the suitcases out and I continued my journey in the same taxi to the clinic. Rati had a temperature of 106 degrees. She was delirious. I came home and telephoned London for Jinnah who, unfortunately, was in Dublin at the time. A message was relayed to him in Dublin and he arrived in Paris not immediately but two days late.

Rati Jinnah

At the George V, where he stayed, he said to me, "But Lady Petit (his mother-in-law) tells me Rati is better." I said, "I have just come from the clinic and it seems to me she, with a temperature of 106 degrees, is dying." He sat still for a couple of minutes, struggling with himself and asked me to telephone the clinic which I did. He spoke to the nurse in charge who confirmed what I had told him. Thumping the arm of his chair, he said : "Come, let us go. We must save her."

I left him at the clinic for nearly three hours, waiting at a nearby cafe and when he returned, the anxiety had vanished from his face. He had arranged for a new clinic and a new medical adviser and all was going to be well. But alas ! although Mrs Jinnah recovered, she did not stay on with her husband but returned ahead of him to Bombay and I do not think they met again

First Talk with His Father-in-Law

I was sitting with him in the Western Court when a trunk call was put through to him from Bombay. He spoke calmly

saying he would leave that night. He came towards me, after the conversation was over and said : "Rati is seriously ill. I must leave tonight"—and then there was a pause. "Do you know," he added, "Who that was ? It was my father-in-law. This is the first time we have spoken to each other since my marriage." I persuaded him to leave the next morning by the Frontier Mail as the night train would not get him to Bombay any quicker. I did not know then but learnt only later that Rati was not merely seriously ill but she was actually dead when they put through that call to Jinnah.

I do not believe in witchcraft, fortune-telling and spooks and spirits ; but there is no denying the fact that most people interested in these things have had extraordinary experiences. After Rati's marriage her proud husband brought her to Delhi where, laughing and happy, she met an Irish woman named Mrs. Harker, who was alleged to have been possessed of second sight. As she saw this beautiful, young woman so happy and so gay, she turned to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a very great friend of the Jinnah's and said with a sad face : "My dear ! I see a dreadful sight. I see this beautiful child dead before my eyes, dead ten years hence on her birthday."

It was a terrible time for Jinnah who was not of the demonstrative kind. And it was a terrible thing for such a brilliant young woman to have died so young. I remembered that I had persuaded her to become, along with Lokmanya Tilak, a Vice-President of the first session of the All-India Trades Union Congress which I had founded in 1920. At the Conference at which, surprisingly enough, nearly nine hundred delegates had gathered together at the Empire Theatre in Bombay, Mr. Jinnah made a moving speech from a box supporting the resolution for the removal of all bans on the re-entry into India of that great friend of the Indian people, Benjamin Guy Horniman.

Soon a great change came over the Indian scene. Constitutional ways were discarded and the Swarajya Party staged mass

resignation from the Central Legislature, the leaders courting arrest. The plight of the British Government of the day was desperate. Outgoings were about 2½ crores a week and income had fallen to about a crore. A financial crisis was evident since even when with the backing of the great British Empire loans were floated and Treasury Bills offered at 7½% interest, money needed to fill the deficit gap was not forthcoming. But there was at the head an astute Viceroy, Lord Irwin, who settled with the man of God, Gandhi, one fine morning in what came to be known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Jinnah at this time was not prominent in politics because times were different and the country was laid under fire and sword—the sort of unconstitutionality he had always tried to prevent.

Privy Council Practice

Irwin made way for a very debonair Viceroy, Willingdon, and Willingdon was an old opponent of Jinnah. He had not foregotten the famous public meeting at which Jinnah, in Bombay, had denounced Willingdon and his regime on the eve of Willingdon's departure many years previously. Jinnah, disturbed in mind by his own domestic tragedy and disturbed equally by the shape of events, decided to leave India and for the time being settled down in London to practise at the Privy Council. When I met him in his Chambers at the Temple, beautiful oak-panelled chambers, he put on the switch of the electric kettle and made tea for us—myself and Margarita Barns. He had taken a lovely house in the North West and considered himself well repaid in having made a little less than a couple of thousand pounds at his practice the very first year. He had really wanted to get away from everything he had been immersed in politically in his own country—a feeling that comes upon every politician some time or other in his career. But things in India were beginning to change after the failure of the Round Table Conference of which he and I were both original

members but which membership I resigned in view of the foolish arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru who had agreed to come to London to discuss Dominion Status with Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister. The move, which was made by Sir Malcolm Hailey, the U.P. Governor, was taken by all of us to mean that in India the British authorities were anxious and quite capable of sabotaging a projected settlement. As I had carried on negotiations in London in this connection it was a very serious blow to me apart from the terrible cruelty of Panditji's arrest which ended with his most untimely death for which the whole of India grieved.

Return to India

However, the India Bill was on the anvil when Jinnah decided to return to India. I met him at the Willingdon Club in 1934 soon after his return. He said to me and my wife, when we asked him to stand for election: "No, I am finished politically," I was horrified. I said: "You must not dream of talking like this." "Well," he said, "If you can get five people like you to stand by me, I will re-enter the political field." I said: "That is not difficult" and I telegraphed forthwith to Tulsi Goswami (who later became Finance Minister in the Muslim League Government in United Bengal), Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and others, telling them what Jinnah had said and each one of them assured me through Tulsi that Jinnah would have their full support A few days later when we met again, Jinnah said: "It is Jinnah's luck. I have been elected President of the League again"—and all doubts were set at rest about his plunge into politics

In considering Jinnah's career, this element of luck must never be forgotten.

The elections came in 1937 under the New Constitution and Jinnah fought a great battle single-handed. He had hoped to score a victory in the U.P. Bengal and Punjab. He was defeated

but not disheartened, as he had gathered a great volume of support around him For the Punjab we decided upon a coalition if he would agree to run alternate Ministries – the Congress followed by his party. From Feroze Khan Noon's room in Faletti's Hotel, we telephoned to Jinnah who was then in Assam.* We could not get him. When eventually he was contacted the situation had altered and we got nowhere. Perhaps the history of the Punjab and, indeed, of India might have been different had the suggested experiment taken place.

There is a great deal more to write about the Quaid-i-Azam. I am probably one of the few people still alive who knew him politically, who understood him better than most. Although we belonged to different parties—that difference was dust in the balance of our great understanding of each other. But it would require a whole volume to put down all that one would like to say about Jinnah. He was misunderstood greatly. But for this the whole course of Indian politics might have been different. For instance in 1937 he offered a settlement which I communicated to Mahatma Gandhi. It did not come off. One day I shall deal with this important fact. I had recently been released from gaol during the "Quit India" movement when I received in Lahore a message to say that Jinnah was staying with Mamdot and would like to see me I had been very ill but I went. His concern for my health was so tender that, emotionally wrought as I was during a long period in gaol, I almost broke down and hurriedly took my leave asking Jinnah to dine with me the following night which he did. He asked me then to get into touch with Gandhiji in Poona and suggested

*There is some confusion about the dates. The writer is probably referring here to the elections of 1946 when the Muslim League won 79 out of 86 Muslim seats. There was talk of Congress-Muslim League coalition ministry in the Punjab but it did not materialise due to Abul Kalam Azad's efforts to the contrary which resulted in the formation of Unionist-Congress coalition ministry—*Editor*.

a certain settlement. That was the last offer and, although I sent it by one of the leaders who was going to see Gandhiji in Poona, I received no reply. Jinnah stayed on till very late that night and as he was about to go, after a very long talk with my wife he turned to me and said:

"Well, I must go now. I have been talking to Mrs Chum" (that is how he always called her. For her he had been a hero since the day when, at her age of 17, he had sat next to her at dinner and, turning his back on all and sundry including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, had talked to her all through the evening). "I have been talking to Mrs. Chum. She does not agree with me but I think she sees my meaning" I said: "Jinnah, what you really mean is that she is a little more intelligent than I am." "Yes," said Jinnah, "that is exactly what I mean," and laughing we saw him off to his car.

(*From* The Pakistan Times, *11 September 1959*)

An Eastern Genius Dressed by Saville Row

by

BEVERLEY NICHOLS

What will happen now that Jinnah is gone ? Two things, I believe, we may take for granted. Firstly Pakistan will be attacked, day in and day out, by its more powerful neighbour. By bribes, by threats, by every conceivable and inconceivable means India will endeavour to undermine it physically, morally and economically. Secondly, Pakistan will endure. It has come on the map because it had to come on the map, and on the map it will remain. For it is a great deal more than a geographical expression It is the home of a nation and very great nation too—and the man who brought it into being will some day be recognised even by its former opponents as one of the supreme figures in the history of civilisation.

A few hours before Mr. Jinnah's death on Saturday I had received a letter from him dated 3 September in which he said, "You will be glad to know that there is nothing seriously the matter with me." And the signature was so shaky as to be almost illegible ; it was very different from the firm legal script with which in 1944 he annotated the manuscript in which at my request he had fully elaborated for the first time the moral and material foundations of Pakistan. I wondered how long he could last and what would happen when he left.

He was an Eastern genius dressed by Saville Row. He had a mind as subtle as Gandhi's but whereas Gandhi met the sweltering heat of Bombay in a cotton shift Jinnah was invariably dressed in a lounge suit with a stiff white collar and monocle dangling over his waist-coat. And of the two men he looked considerably cooler.

To visit him in his home at Malabar Hill—the only tolerably cool quarter of Bombay—was to step from the East to the West. The drive was bordered by English flowers ; the house was full of old oak ; on the table in his study there was a silver box of English digestive biscuits and the latest copy of the *Times*. And the bookshelves were filled with an assortment of volumes that would not have disgraced the library of an English Lord Chancellor.

It was from these shelves that one day he took down a faded old volume *The Speeches of John Bright* and read from it a passage in which that great orator had startled the House of Commons just ninety years ago ; "Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country with its twenty different nations and twenty different languages can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire ? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible. We must fail in the attempt if we ever make it, and we are bound to look into the future

with reference to that point. The Madras Presidency, for instance, having its own government, would in fifty years become one compact State, and every part of the Presidency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the Government of Madras as its ruling power. If that were to go on for a century or more there would be five or six presidencies of India, built up into so many States, and if, at any future period, the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn we should have so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own government, and we should be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which is to be inevitable if we insist on holding vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great Empire."

So did Jinnah. As he closed the book he said, "What Bright said then is even truer to-day, though, of course, the emphasis is not so much on the twenty nationalities as on the two—Muslim and Hindu." Looking me straight in the eye, he continued, "There is nothing in life that links us together. We are different beings "

"Can I quote it ?"

"It is your duty to quote it. Our names, our clothes, our food—they are all different ; our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women -- we challenge each other at every point of the compass."

That was Jinnah's vital contribution to history which may be summed up in four words—"India does not exist." It never has, and it never will. It was a myth created by British, and only the presence of the British perpetuated that myth.

The blunt assertion was highly unpalatable to a great many people. British liberals hated it, because British liberals spent half their lives unifying—on paper—people who refused to be united. Hindus hated it even more.

A large number of followers of Gandhi were doubtless genuine idealists ; and in the ranks of the more sophisticated University trained Hindus there were many who sincerely deplored religious fanaticism and who would have been glad to soft-pedal the two discordant creeds into a muted harmony. But Jinnah would have no truck with them. Did not the Hindus—he asked—outnumber the Muslims three to one ? Had not they far more wealth, far more territory and far more business acumen ? Was it not inevitable that if they won the day, if their claim of the "indivisibility of India" was accepted, they would soon be ruling the whole of that rich roost and bossing the Muslims out of existence ? It was, to say the least of it, possible. And Jinnah had seen enough of what happened to Muslim minorities when they came under the hold of Hindu Big Business—that same Big Business which he always saw looming behind the shining saintly figure of Gandhi.

[Dawn, *21, September 1948 Reproduced from* VERDICT ON INDIA]

Quaid-i-Azam's Monument is Pakistan

by

DR. MUMTAZ HASAN

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was an extraordinary man. It did not take much time to see that he was built on a Bigger scale than other men. His greatness was part of him, something like a natural phenomenon. He was great just as the rain is wet or the snow is white.

Like many great men, he was a man of contradictions. Aristocratic to his finger tips, he was also democratic to the core of his being.

He lived like a lord and was stiff-necked and proud, yet he could sit with the humblest of the humble and feel like one of them.

Although preoccupied with the cause of his people, he never tried to promote the personal interests of any of them.

Far from being well-versed in religion, his understanding of the basic principles of Islam was nothing short of profound.

A man who never courted popular favour and had nothing in common with the common man, he became a darling of the masses.

An ardent Indian nationalist, he became the successful leader of a movement for a separate Muslim state.

Yet these contradictions are more apparent than real. If he had an expensive style of living in his earlier days, it was a matter of his personal liking.

He had earned money by his own labour and was entitled to live as he pleased.

In later years, when the man in him was swallowed up by his mission, he lived simply and un-ostentatiously.

He had no time for luxury. But there was in him at all times a warmth of feeling for other human beings which he did not always care to show.

He respected his fellow men as he respected himself. He wanted to treat others on an equal footing but if any one expected him to bow or cringe to him in submission, he was mistaken.

He disdained popular favour. Meticulous and obstemious in his habits and very careful of time, (which was of the essence of his life) he was never fond of processions or banquets.

His whole social life was restricted to a small circle. Yet the people took out bigger processions for him and gave him a more warm hearted welcome than any Muslim leader ever had before. At public meetings, he adhered strictly to a time-table and did not allow any speaker, however, popular, to succeed the time limit. And yet they adored him.

Why did they do so? They knew that he was utterly incorruptible and could not be purchased at any price. They were sure that he would never compromise his principles and would be prepared to do battle with the mightiest of the mighty for the sake of a principle.

One could always foretell what he would do in a particular situation.

Here was a man who said what he meant, and the people trusted him.

Truth, honesty, sincerity and steadfast pursuit of aim—that was the Jinnah the people loved and thought their saviour.

They had tried of theirs and found them wanting. Here was one—the only one—who fulfilled their dream of leadership.

If he lived well, he did not do so on public subscriptions. If he was stubborn and inflexible, he served the cause of the people and not his own.

Here was a man utterly dedicated to his duty ; there was nothing else that mattered to him.

Own Priest

Same about religion. It was common for his enemies to attack him for being a fashionable and Europeanised gentleman who hardly knew anything of religion.

And yet this so-called ignorant man understood the principles of Islam better and practised them more sincerely than any one else.

He said that in a Muslim state, sovereignty rested in the Quran.

He proclaimed that every Muslim was his own priest.

And more than anything else, he was fascinated by the democracy of Islam.

Nothing delighted him so much as to be with the people at prayer and to stand in the congregation like anyone of them.

At a Friday prayer in London before partition, he took his place in the last but one row.

That, he said, was the place for him as he had come late.

After independence, as Governor-General of Pakistan, he came to the first Eed prayer in Karachi at the Eedgah Maidan and sat behind all those who had arrived earlier. Only those who came later sat behind him.

With all his shortcomings be they apparent or real, this man was one of the greatest Muslims that have ever lived.

Jinnah made his marked early in life. He first achieved prominence as a student in London.

In 1906, he was Private Secretary to Dadabhoy Nauroji, the 'Grand Old Man' of the Indian National Congress and was one of the most ardent Indian nationalists alive.

When he joined the Muslim League in 1913, he did so only on the understanding that his membership of the League will not, in any way, conflict with his work for the cause of India's freedom, to which he had already pledged his loyalty.

In 1916 he, with the cooperation of C.R. Das, brought about the Lucknow Pact which, with all its shortcomings, remains one of the most serious and sincere attempts at Hindu-Muslim understanding.

Sarojini Naindu hailed him as the 'ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity', and a hall was built in his honour in the heart of the Hindu quarter of Bombay.

Next year, when Mr. Montague met him, he was immediately struck with the man's outstanding ability.

Montague has recorded that on this occasion Chelmsford, the Viceroy, tried to argue with Jinnah but was soon 'tied up in knots'.

It seemed a great pity to Montague that a man of such stature was not taking part in administering the affairs of his country.

That, more than anything else, should give us an idea of the kind of impression that Jinnah made on others as a young man. He was already one of the most prominent men in politics apart from being one of the ablest lawyers of the country with a large and lucrative practice.

Yet, if we are to believe Campbell-Johnson, Nehru seems to have told Mountbatten that success had come to Jinnah late in life.

His parliamentary performance was an off-shoot of his legal brilliance. He would build up his case methodically and with care, and arrange his facts and arguments in the most orderly way possible.

He always spoke to his brief and his object seemed to be to convince his audience of the justice and validity of his case.

Unlike most public leaders, he wanted to appeal to the head rather than to the heart.

His speeches were, however, interspersed with dramatic pauses and now and then the e was a sudden lowering or raising of the voice.

Although he never indulged in rehetoric, his utterances glowed with sincerity and there were portions in his speeches which gave the impression of oratory.

In the Indian Legislative Assembly, he was the greatest and senior most parliamentarian, and even though he was not the leader of the bigger party in the Opposition, he was the last to speak in a debate before the Government spokesmen arose to wind it up.

Above Price

He wold allow no personal consideration to stand in the way of his mission.

Neither Mahatma Gandhi's offer of a blank cheque or Rajagopalachari's offer of India's Prime Ministership could deflect him from the path he had chosen for himself, which he considered to be the right path.

Had he but cared to do so, he could have won his way to a barony and a governorship of a province like Sinha.

But that was not the stuff of which Jinnah was made. He would not do anything to please any one ; he would always do what he thought was right.

And while it earned him a great deal of admiration and respect, it brought him no official honours.

While he had great regard for the British people, among whom he had spent a great part of his life, he would not let anything that he thought was a misuse of authority go unchallenged.

His famous protest against a farewell party to Willingdon is part of history, and although it is difficult to say whether there was a personal quarrel between him and Willingdon, it is a fact that Jinnah left the country and stayed in London when Willingdon was Viceroy of India.

Even in the Muslim League, which he virtually restarted in 1937, with a Private Secretary and a typewriter, while he listened to what others had to say, he relied finally on his own judgment.

At the Simla Conference of 1945, every Muslim leader pleaded with him to relax his stand in the interest of a settlement.

Jinnah refused, because he was of the view that the kind of settlement that was being offered would not be in the interest of the Muslims

When, on a later occasion, some one tried to argue that a particular course he was proposing to pursue might be misunderstood by the Muslims, Jinnah said he was concerned with doing what he thought was the best thing for his people, even though it displeased some of them.

He is not known to have sought the help of any official for his own benefit.

Indeed, as a general rule, he never saw any official except the highest, namely, the Viceroy, and that always on public purpose.

He never cared to call on Members of Council, and some of them had to let mutual friends bring them together and introduce them.

He met the Governors of provinces now and then, when they had to pass to him a message from the Viceroy.

No Small Talk

It was common talk in Delhi and Simla that in his interviews with the Viceroy, Jinnah never let any time be wasted on social courtesies or preliminary 'small talk', but would get down to business straightaway.

Incidentally, the frequency of Jinnah's interviews with the Viceroy greatly impressed the 'loyalist' Muslim Ministers and

Chief Ministers, and their faith in his leadership went up in proportion to his apparent familiarity with one who, to them was nothing less than a demigod.

As regards letters of recommendation or individual 'Sifarish'. it was just not done.

There is the story of a man—a Muslim—who wanted a letter from the Quaid to someone who could help him in his business.

The Quaid told him briefly and summarily that he was in no way interested in such personal matters ; his job was to think of the welfare of the Muslim people and not of individual Muslims.

This caused serious disappointment to the gentleman concerned, who went about saying that Jinnah was not much of a leader if he could treat his followers like this !

It has been suggested that Jinnah turned away from Indian nationalism and became a leader of the Muslims in order to gain personal prominance ; he wanted Pakistan in order to be its Governor-General.

Nothing could be more unjust to Jinnah or farther from the truth.

He was already as prominent and important as any one could ever hope to be. He tried his best to bring about Hindu-Muslim understanding. His famous 'Fourteen Points' were a major attempt in this direction. Even till the very last, in 1946, he was prepared to give a trial to the Cabinet Mission Plan which envisaged an undivided India with the majority community holding the sources of powers—Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications—at the Centre.

But the Hindu majority did not want understanding ; they merely wanted to impose their will on the Muslim minority. This was the reason why the Congress torpedoed the Cabinet

Mission Plan by insisting on a peculiar interpretation of it, which amounted to a plain rejection of the Plan.

Jinnah also saw how badly the relations between the Hindus and Muslims were deteriorating He witnessed the Bihar tragedy and its aftermath and saw clearly how a civil war was going on between two separate peoples, all over the country, virtually in every town and village. That being the case, was there any alternative left to Pakistan ? If Jinnah gave up his old dream of Indian nationalism, and turned to Pakistan, it was not because he was personally ambitious. It was merely because he was practical and honest, and wanted a peaceful and lasting solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

Speaking of the spiritual transition in Jinnah from Indian nationalism to Pakistan, it is interesting to observe that Syed Ahmed Khan and Iqbal, his two great predecessors in the movement for Muslim freedom, also experienced a similar transition.

They, too, realised through experience that the Indian nationalist movement, sponsored and controlled by the Hindu majority, had no place in it for a free and self-respecting Muslim people.

The lives of these three architects of Pakistan who are among the most remarkable figures in the history of the sub-continent, is itself proof of the impracticability of Hindu-Muslim unity, and the necessity of a separate sovereign state for the Muslims.

In the last phase of his life, Jinnah hardly had any private existence. The Quaid-i-Azam had almost completely over-shadowed Mr. Jinnah.

It was rarely—very rarely—that one caught a glimpse of the man behind the leader.

A chance remark, a humourous observation, the human touch that those who worked for him gratefully remember these

were some of the indications that his old self was still lurking in a corner of his soul.

It is difficult to imagine a man so completely absorbed in his work, so utterly oblivious to personal comfort and convenience.

His sincerity of purpose, his transparent honesty, and his selfless dedication to the cause of truth and justice marks him out as one of the great men of modern times.

He lived and died for Pakistan. We are building a monument over his tomb, but his real monument is Pakistan itself.

If there ever was a man who could not put up with bribery or corruption in any shape or form, that man was Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

It was the early days of the Muslim League revival. The Quaid had come back from London in response to the numerous appeals made to him. He had taken up the ta‹k of the League reorganization without men or money. To quote his own words : he had only himself, his Secretary and a typewriter. Most of the Muslims who mattered were either in the British camp or in the Hindu camp. The Elections of 1937 had given the Congress power in seven out of eleven Provinces, and the Muslim League stood nowhere. Panpit Jawaharlal Nehru had started what was called the Muslim Mass Contact Movement, the object of which was to bring the mass of the Muslims closer to the Congress and its Hindu leadership. The Congress plane was to control the Muslims directly and to by-pass the Muslim leadership. For this purpose they relied on "Nationalist" Muslims who worked for the congress cause. This was a critical moment for the Muslim people and the Muslim League. They desperately needed men, particulary men who could stand up and speak in mass meetings and swing public opinion in favour of the Muslim point of view. But there was hardly any to such "mob orators" available.

Pirzada Muhammad Zakaullah, President of the Simla District Muslim League, was one of the earliest and most enthusiastic workers for the Muslim cause. He was very much alive to the need for popular speakers and had, on his own, been approaching various people. Eventually he was able to contact a prominent Congressite Muslim, who was a leader of the Congressite Ulema and a well-known speaker. Zakaullah appealed to him and was able to persuade him to come under the League banner. But the gentleman said he would want Rs.100/- a month from the League for the work This was the minimum he needed. He was not trying to be difficult, he said, but he had a family and must have something to support them.

Zakaullah was delighted with the proposition. He thought he had secured the support of a powerful leader for a song. But as the Maulana was well-known in the country as a political figure and any change of allegiance on his part would be an event of public importance, it was necessary to tell the Quaid, who would enquire about it any way. Zakaullah went to him accordingly and told him about the arrangement.

There was, Zakaullah began, a dearth of popular speakers and second-line leaders among the Muslims. This man would be a great acquisitions, and an accretion of strength to the cause. It had been decent of him to ask for only a hundred rupees. The money would be found by the Simla District Muslim League and the central organization would not have to bear any part of the financial burden on this account. "Do you approve the arrangement, Sir ?" asked Zakaullah, in the hope not only of getting the Quaid's approval, but a "Shabash" as well. To his surprise the Quaid began to look severe. "I can not approve this arrangement" he said, "I am sorry". "But Sir," said Zakaullah, "what could possibly be the objection ? This is an extremely useful individual and he wants no more than a hundred rupees a month. It is a pittance and I shall find the money myself."

The Quaid's look was still full of disapproval and Zakaullah tried to remonstrate with him. "These are difficult times, Sir, and we must get good workers wherever we can find them. After all, he is not asking a lot." "Look, my boy" said the Quaid, "I shall tell you why I cannot agree to your proposal. In the first place, I do not believe in bribing a Muslim to do his duty by his own people. Even if I could, just for the sake of the argument, swallow the transaction, how do you know that the Congress will not over-bid you ? They have far more money and far more prestige than we have. Will not the Maulvi Saheb go back to them if they gave him, say, three hundred a month as against your hundred ? What will you do then?" The Quaid paused for a moment and continued, "Go and ask this gentleman if he is convinced that our cause is true and just. If he is so convinced, then let him come and throw in his lot with us without making conditions beforehand. He will then be one of us, and we shall share with him whatever we have. We shall give him whatever we can. We are poor, but we might be able to give him more than he wants. And of course, it might be less. But there shall be no bargaining. That is the only way I can accept the arrangement."

Zakaullah told me that he tried to argue further, but could get no change out of the Quaid, who insisted that the Maulvi Saheb should be told what he had said and must not be approached in any other manner. Zakaullah came away a sad and disappointed man. He went to the man and put the matter to him in the way the Quaid had ordered. As a result the arrangement fell through, and the Maulana continued to work for the Congress till the end of his life.

My friend Zakaullah gave me the story in 1940 or thereabouts (I have had independent confirmation of it since . As he recalled his conversation with the Quaid, his eyes beamed with pride. He confessed that he had felt deeply dismayed

when the Quaid had rejected his proposal, but now he understood. His Leader had not bowed to Expediency, had not let his principles be compromised. The integrity of the organization had been preserved. And now the difficult days were over and all was going to be well for the future.

Zakaullah died in 1947. I was told that when the killings began, he was the last Muslim to leave Simla, and did so only after he had seen to the evacuation of every one else. He travelled with the refugee caravan all the way to Lahore. But journey, with its horrors and hardships, had taken such a heavy toll of his health that he succumbed to cholera as soon as he reached Pakistan. May God rest his soul in peace.

Supplementary Budget

The Supplementary Budget of September, 1940, had a deeply political significance. It was brought forward with a view to raising money for the War. If the Legislature voted for it, it would mean that the Indian public supported the war effort. If the vote went against it, the world would think the opposite.

It is true that there was a sizeable block of officials in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and there was a non-official European group as well. The dice was, so to say, loaded in favour of the Government, and any one who knew the composition of the Assembly would be disposed to discount a Government victory on that score. But the world was busy with the War, and nobody had time for such research. World opinion would accept a Government victory simply as a Government victory. The Government, therefore, had to win on the vote if a proper impression was to be created.

The War had already entered the hot phase. The first eight months or so were "Phoney", with the Germans and the French facing each other on either side of the Maginot Line

without doing much damage to each other. Then came the German offensive through the Ardennes, followed swiftly by the fall of France and the British retreat from Dunkirk. This was in June, 1940. In England Neville Chamberlain fell and Winston Churchill became Prime Minister. The policy of appeasement had not worked, the man with the famous umbrella had failed to prevent the War, which now had to be fought to the bitter end and under a new leader. There was to be no "peace in our time".

The political situation in India was a difficult one. The 1937 elections, held on the basis of Provincial Autonomy, had placed the Congress in power in seven out of a total of eleven provinces. The Congress Government had followed a policy which the Muslims considered to be hostile to them. Muslim agitation against the Congress and the Hindus grew in bitterness and violence. A Committee, headed by the Raja of Pirpur, investigated the Muslim grievances and submitted a report to the All-India Muslim League. On the outbreak of the War, the Congress Ministries refused to support the War Effort, and under the instructions of the Congress High Command, resigned from office. The Muslims thereupon celebrated a 'Day of Deliverance'. On the 23rd of March, 1940, the historic Pakistan Resolution was passed and the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent dedicated themselves to a new purpose and a new goal. The old quest for safeguards was given up; the Muslims had learnt, from long and frustrating experience, that nothing but an independent State of their own—the ideal placed before them by Iqbal in 1930—would enable them to live as Muslims.

The Congress were not co-operating in the war effort, and were expected to oppose the Budget. So were the 'Nationalist Party' under M.S. Aney, known to his admirers as "Bapu" Aney. The Muslims had to decide their attitude.

A meeting of the Assembly Muslim League Party was accordingly held under the chairmanship of Jinnah to discuss the matter. At this meeting there was full and free discussion of the pros and cons of the issue involved. It was certainly a difficult and delicate issue. The Muslim League could not make common cause with the Congress, because the Congress was hostile to Muslim interests. They could not give all out support to the British Government as the Government did not care for them. It was their feeling that whenever there was a choice between the Hindus and the Muslims, the British always sided with the Hindus, and while substantial concessions were made to the Hindu point of view, the Muslims were expected to be content with doubtful promises and equivocal declarations. In the circumstances, the Muslim League Party decided to remain neutral. It was a unanimous decision, and we were told it had been reached without any promptings from Jinnah himself.

We came to know the decision within five minutes of its being taken. It was an embarrassing one for the Government. If the Muslim League had decided to vote for the Budget, it would have been passed by a clear and decisive majority. As it was, the situation was an exeremely precarious one. My old friend Ikramullah was Chief Government Whip for the Session, and I was Private Secretary to the Finance Member. Both of us were closely concerned with the outcome of the whole exercise, and used to sit down every evening to cast up our estimates. According to our calculations, the Government was always two or three votes short. This was far from comforting. In the circumstances, it was of some importance to try and see whether the Muslim League Party was prepared to revise its decision. The "High Ups" in Delhi thought some pressure had to be brought to bear on the "Loyalists" in the Party through the "High Ups" in the provinces concerned. This had its effect. Four or five members of the Muslim

League Party approached Jinnah with a request to allow them the freedom of the vote. They pleaded that by remaining neutral they were causing serious embarrassment to the Government and virtually opposing the War effort, which was not the intention of the decision. Jinnah heard them out and there ensued a conversation somewhat on the following lines :—

He : Was this a decision taken unanimously or by a majority in the Party.

They : It was unanimous, Sir.

He : Did I force that decision on you, or did you take it on your own after a full discussion ?

They : No Sir, you did not force any view on us. The decision was ours.

He : Then why do you want to have the decision reversed ?

They : As we explained, Sir, the postion is very embarrassing and we feel that the decision needs to be revised. We would like to have the freedom of the vote, Sir.

At this point, so the report went, the Old Man was roused. "Look here" said he, in that resonant voice of his which often unnerved people, "I know what has happened and why you are embarrassed. I know who has sent you to me. If you want the freedom of the vote, I shall call a meeting of the Party. If you want the liberty to go your own way, I shall lead the rest of the Party into the Opposition Lobby. And I must also tell you" he continued, "that on the day of the voting I shall stand up in the House and tell the world all that has been happening behind my back, the intrigues that have been going on in my Party, and at whose instance. Go and tell those who have sent you".

The interview was at an end. The gentlemen rushed back to the "High Ups" of the Government and told them what had happened. The re-action was quick. A directive came from the All-Highest "to leave the Old Man alone."

Our problem still remained. Ikram and I thought long and anxiously about the situation. Eventually a brilliant idea emerged. "What are these Defence of India Rules for if we cannot meet a situation of this kind? Why can't Government put a few of these people out of the way of mischief for a month or so. Let them be kept in good comfort, in the best of possible luxury, in fact, while they are the "guests" of Government. In due course they could be let out. In the meantime the Budget would have been passed."

The suggestion was put to the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman. He thought it was a joke. When I told him that I for one was utterly fed up with the uncertainty of the situation and was making the suggestion seriously, he looked up. "If you are suggesting seriously" said my chief, that I should use the D.I.Rs., to get the Budget passed, it is just not done I would prefer to lose."

The Session was the fullest and most brilliant that I have witnessed at any time during the War. All parties attended in full strength. With Bhulabhai Desai, Sir Percival Griffiths and Jinnah himself, Parliamentary oratory reached great heights. The public also had the privilege of listening to one of the finest expositions of the Budget from Sir Jeremy Raisman, easily the greatest master of the English language in the Government of India in the last twenty years of the British regime. The Leader of the House was Sir Zafrullah Khan, who made a closely reasoned speech befitting his reputation as an eminent lawyer.

Jinnah made one of the great speeches of his Parliamentary career. He was not the leader of the biggest party in the

Opposition, but as the senior-most Parliamentarian of the country it was his privilege to be the last speaker on the Opposition side. He was not an orator in the accepted sense of the word, but there was none who came anywhere near him as a Parliamentary debator. He was listened to in pin-drop silence. He spoke as though he was pleading the case of the Muslims of India not only before the Indian Legislative Assembly, but also before the Judicial Tribunal of Posterity, that invisible body of judges who were yet to be born. His voice rose and fell dramatically, and even though it was a long speech, the interest of the listers never flagged At one stage, when he was speaking of Hindu-Muslim relations, he pointed out that Hindus and Muslims had been recognized as distinct political entities as early as the Lucknow Pact, and that the Pact had been concluded on that basis. Mr. Aney thought fit to interrupt him "No, No, this is not so" said he, with a croaking overtone in his voice, "I was there". Jinnah did not deign to enter into argument with Bapu Aney, but continued to address the Speaker. Inclining his head ever so slightly towards the chair, he dealth with the interruption. "He may have been there" said he, "but was not then heard of." This had a pulverising effect and the Bapu subsided in his seat. At an other point Satyamurti challenged one of Jinnah's statements. "This is not so" said he, in his aggressive manner. "This is so" said Jinnah, with emphasis, and that was the end of Satyamurti. After having argued his case fully from all points of view, Jinnah summed up. "Plague on both your houses" said he, addressing the Government and the Congress, and bringing Shakespeare into the debate.

Jinnah left the House shortly afterwards Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang, the Deputy Leader, was in charge.

The voting was a sight to see. Every member of the Muslim League Party, except the Leader, was in his seat, to

show the world that they were all united and positive in their decision. Some members of the Congress walked up to the Muslim Leaguers and asked them to go with them into the "Noes" Lobby. "We are neutral" was the firm reply, and that was that

As anticipated, the Government lost by three votes.

THE QUAID IN LONDON-DECEMBER 1946

1. The Background.

The Quaid visited London in December. 1946, That visit was the real beginning of Pakistan, and the virtual end of the India that was

He went at the invitation of the British Government. It was a kind of Round Table Conference to which, besides the Quaid, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh had been invited. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy accompanied them.

The Conference had been called for two reasons. In the first place, the law and order situation in India had deteriorated seriously as a result of political differences between Hindus and Muslims, and the transfer of power was, from the British point of view, becoming a matter of some urgency. Secondly, the British were anxious to determine the authority or authorities to whom power was to be transferred. The British Governments at Whitehall, one after the other, had been clinging somewhat sentimentally to the idea of transferring power to an individed government of an undivided India. For the Labour Party, which was in power at the time, and had been closely linked with the Indian National Congress, this naturally meant a Congress government. The signs, however, were not favourable to such a course. Beverly Nichols' "Divide and Quit"[1] was in

1. Beverly Nichols in his "Verdict on India" published in...........had advocated partition of the Sub-continent as well as complete transfer of power. His formula was 'divide and quit' and the latter half of it was reminescent of the 'Quit India' movement started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1942.

the air, and the growing power and conflicting aims of the Congress and the Muslim League, and the increase of bitterness between Hindus and Muslims thereby lent support the Beverly Nichols' formula. The problem had to be faced and settled ; it brooked no delay.

The chain of disturbances started from Calcutta. Calcutta had its repurcussions in Noakhali, and this in turn led to the mass killings of Muslims in Bihar. Bihar was followed by Garh Mukteshwar and, later, by wide spread rioting elsewhere. After, Bihar, the deterioration of the law and order situation amounted virtually to a breakdown of the law and order machinery. This was tragic as the maintenance of peace and tranquility had been the pre-occupation and pride of the British in India and understandably so. They were an alien Government without any roots in the soil. Even the best among them (and there were many who were good and well meaning even to the extent of being idealistic could not by any chance claim to the natural leaders of the people. And though the Sub-continent as a whole benefited from British rule in more ways than one, the primary objective of that rule was to serve the interests of Great Britain and not of India. There had also been uprisings against British authority, the most notable being the Sepoy War of 1857. All this had made the British law and order conscious and the whole system of Government was based on that consciousness The "Security Services", namely the I.C.S. and the Imperial Police, were the most privileged and most secure. The legal system, which was reasonably tolerant in many ways, was particularly unforgiving in the case of sedition. Before the first World War, there is hardly anything that happened without the permission of the District Officer. Nevertheless, as a result of their emphasis on law and order, the British had succeeded in giving India a hundred years of peace and establishing a system of justice between man and

man. The Pax Brittanica, in the opinion of May, was comparable to the Pax Romana spite of its much shorter duration. It could not, therefore, be a matter of pride for His Majesty's Government to allow law and order to go by the board on the eve of their departure from the Sub-continent, and to let their successors inherit the confusion.

Bihar had a profound effect on the Quaid who started the first ever Relief Fund in his own name for the Bihar victims. Liaquat Ali Khan told me that it was Bihar which closed the Quaid's mind once for all to any kind of constitutional compromise,[1] even a temporary one. He had come to the final conclusion that Hindus and Muslims could not live together in undivided India ; they had to have separate States in which to live their lives in their own way.

The Bihar tragedy inevitably caused a further divergence of views between the Congress and the League, which was reflected in the debates of the Legislature. Pandit Nehru made a statement on Bihar as leader of the Legislative Assembly which was countered the next day by the leader of the Council of State, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar. The distrust between the two major communities was growing. There was already serious apprehension of further trouble and the British authorities seemed to be unwilling or powerless to tackle the situation. All this made the difficult constitutional problem even more difficult, and the urgency of a solution increased with the difficulty.

Political events were keeping pace with communal disturbances The failure of the Simla Conference of June 1945 was followed by the British Parliamentary Delegation to India, and

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1. In accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 without qualification, the Quaid had agreed to a constitutional compromise, in that he agreed to human undivided India and thereby postpone the demand for Pakistan for ten years.

the Cabinet Mission consisting of Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. A.V Alexander and Lord Pethic-Lawrence. The Mission put forward a Plan for a three—tier constitution, with the Union of India, at the top, including British India and the Indian States, and having the portfolios of Defence, foreign affairs and Communications. There were also to be three Groups of provinces, with the Punjab, the N W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan included in Group B, the provinces of Bengal and Assam in Group C and the rest of India, which consisted of Hindu majority provinces, as Group A. The three Groups were to sit in sections in the Constituent Assembly, and each Group was to frame the constitution for each of the provinces in each section and to set up a constitution for the whole Group if necessary. The Provinces were to have all the residuary powers. It was also provided, and this was a crucial provision, that the new legislature of a province could opt out of its Group after the first general elections under the new constitution.

In the short term, the Cabinet Mission Plan envisaged the formation of an Interim Government consisting of political leaders enjoying the full confidence of the people and functioning over the whole field of Government, including the War Department. Here, too, there was serious controversy over the Composition of the Cabinet and the nature and strength of representation of the Congress and the League. Again, the League was kept out of the Interim Government even though they were the first to accept the Plan. This was done in spite of the assurance given by the Viceroy that whoever was willing to work the Plan would be allowed to form the Government.

Leaving other details and discussions aside it was the provision for provinces opting out of the Groups which became the focal centre of controversy between the Congress and the League. The League had accepted the Plan in its plain

meaning, while the Congress had "accepted" it subject to the "interpretation" that a province could refuse to go into its Group *ab initio*. To ordinary mortals the "interpretation" placed by the Congress on the Plan nullified the whole Plan, and its acceptance subject to that interpretation could only mean rejection. The Congress, however, with typical casuistry, insisted that their "interpretation" was the true meaning of the Plan which, they reiterated, they had accepted. The League obviously could not agree to such a proposition. They had accepted the Plan largely because of the provision for Grouping. Groups A and C coincided geographically with the Indus and Ganges—Brahmaputra basins, which were separate economic units capable of considerable development. The location of the Defence and Foreign Relation at the Centre under the Plan meant that the final sanction behind the state as well as its dealings with the rest of the world were to be in the hands of the Hindu majority. If the N.W.F.P , which was ruled by Dr. Khan Sahib's Congress Government at the time, could refuse to joining Group A and Assam, with its Congress Ministry, could opt out of Group C at the very start, there could hardly be any attraction for the League in the Plan. The Muslims feared, not without justification, that if they went into the Constituent Assembly of India in those circumstances, they would only be steam-rollered by the Hindu majority.

The Congress "interpretation" of the Plan called for a restatement of the Intention of the Plan from its authors, the Cabinet Mission, who categorically rejected the Congress 'interpretation' and agreed with the League view. The Congress still insisted that their "interpretation" of the Cabinet Mission Plan was right, while that of League and the Cabinet Mission itself was wrong. This could not but intensify the tensions, already acute within the Interim Government which, because of the prevailing atmosphere, had functioned in two separate compartments from the very start. It had been an uneasy partnership between

the League and the Congress and the departments of Covern-ment inevitable reflected the antagonism of the two partners towards each other.

The main problem for the Round Table Conference of December 1946 was to try and resolve, if possible, the Congress-League differences over the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Con-ference was devoted to discussion of the two rival views. As a result, His Majesty's Government issued a statement at the end of the Conference, which was based on legal advice, giving the authoritative meaning of the Plan. As expected, this confirmed the Cabinet Mission's own interpretation of it, and incidentally was in accordance with the League's understanding of it. The Congress refused to accept the statement even at that stage. The result was that the Mulim League declined to sit in the Constituent Assembly, while the Congress decided to proceed with constitution-making without the League. The League demanded a Constituent Assembly of their own The Cabinet Mission Plan was dead The whole dream of an un-divided India, so dear to the heart of the Bri ish Government, and particularly to the Labour Party, vanished into thin air. Pakistan became inevitable.

II ON THE WAY

The Quaid reached London on the 2nd of December and stayed there till the 18th. From the 18th to the 20th he stopped in Cairo on the way back to Karachi. During these three weeks the world saw him at his best and greatest.

I was fortunate enough to accompany him on this historic visit and had the privilege to see him at close quarters.

I went as Liaquat Ali Khan's Private Secretary K.H. Khurshid was the Private Secretary of the Quaid. The others with us were Sir George Abell, the Private Secretary of the Viceroy, Mr. Tarlok Singh, the Private Secretary of Pandit

Nehru, Mr. Sarin, the Private Secretary of Sardar Baldev Singh and Major Mackenzie, Deputy Military Secretary to the Viceroy Mackenzie, who was related to the Queen (now the Queen-Mother), was a cheerful and energetic young officer who was always helpful. He had plenty of things to do and, I am afraid, none of us did anythings to lessen his burden of work and worry.

The Viceroy and Liaquat Ali Khan were the first to move. We left Palam aerodrome on the morning of the 30th November and arrived at Karachi in a couple of hour's time. Liaquat Ali Khan and I stayed with Mr Yusuf Haroon at 'Seafield', Victoria Road. The first thing we did was to call on the Quaid, who was staying at the old Government House on Kutchery Road. This house, which originally was the residence of the Judicial Commissioner in Sind, was converted into the Governor's House in 1936 when Sind was separated from Bombay. When the new Governor's House (now the President's House) was built, the old one was allotted to a Minister of the Sind Government. It now stood in the name of Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur, who had placed it at the service of the Quaid.

As we reached the main porch, two smartly dressed Muslim League National Guards, wearing a bright and pleasant green, stood to attention and saluted. I have seldom seen such an impressive turn-out in any Volunteer Corps. They certainly came up to the best stands of the Army.

We entered and waited in an ante-chamber on the left of the main hall. The Quaid had already been informed and was coming down to meet us. I was presented to him by Liaquat Ali Khan He shook me warmly by the hand and his eyes had a benevolent look. This was the first time I had ever met him. I had seen a great deal of him in my nine years in the Government of India, particularly during my first spell as Private

Secretary to the Finance Member of Council from 1939 to 1942. If so happened however, that I had not had any opportunity of meeting him personally and had not sought one either. Jinnah never came to see anybody except the Viceroy, and that too strictly on business. Liaquat Ali Khan knew the dignitaries of Government, socially, but he too was never known to have called on any one, including Members of Council As regards the rest of the Muslim leaders, there was hardly any one whom one did not come across in one's own office. They always had some request or other to make for themselves or their proteges, and it need hardly be surmised the respect they commanded was in inverse proportion to the frequency of these requests. It struck Liaquat Ali Khan as somewhat odd that I had not met the Quaid earlier, but as a Civil Servant I was not expected to meet him except in the course of normal business. It might seem strange ; but it was true.

The Quaid had been put in the picture already about the London visit, but it appeared that he still had some reservations. A meeting was held at the Governor's House between the Viceroy, Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and the Quaid, which resulted in the Quaid making up his mind finally to go to London. The same evening Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh arrived from Delhi with their staff.

We have to leave on the 1st November early in the morning. As we arrived at the Karachi airport, which had been opened nearly ten years earlier, a huge crowd of Muslims was already there to greet their leader and to give him a send-off Hundreds of cars, buses, garries and all sorts of other vehicles were assembled outside the airport, and thousands had come on foot. The Quaid went straight to the people and spoke a few words of encouragement The crowd shouted "Allah-o-Akbar", "Quaid-e-Azam Zindabad", "Pakistan Zindabad". This took a

little longer than anticipated and the aircraft got delayed in the meantime. At last the Quaid waved the people good-bye and proceeded towards the plane. Pandit Nehru, an unenthusiastic spectator of the ovation given to Jinnah, had already gone into the plane and occupied his seat. The Viceroy and Baldev Singh were still outside and escorted the Quaid into the aircraft. Soon we were airborne

The aircraft was a York, originally an R.A.F. transporter which had been fitted up as a luxury plane by the BOAC with seats that could be converted into sleeping berths. It was the noisiest plane I have ever travelled in. In the plane the Quaid sat in front, with Nehru and Baldev Singh behind. The Viceroy occupied the last seat. All four of them had a double seat. The staff sat across the aisle. Any message or papers travelled down the staff before they went up to any of the Big Four.

This was my first air journey and it seemed great fun, except, of course, for the noise. The plane was really hard on one's tympanium

In the plane the leaders went into various stages of relaxation, smoking, reading or half-dozing. All, that is, except the Quaid. He seemed made of different stuff. As soon as the plane took off and we were allowed to unfasten our seat belts, Khurshid placed a tin full of papers by the Quaid's side. He lost no time in opening it and started reading the papers. Up went the monocle and out came the pencil. From where I was sitting, I could see the Quaid under-lining sentences and making marginal notes. He looked very much like a lawyer preparing a brief and that is exactly as it was. Khurshid told me that the papers related to the forthcoming Conference. The Quaid always carried his papers with him and referred to them constantly. No wonder he had his case by heart.

During the flight, an invitation was conveyed to the Quaid and the others from the Palace for lunch The Quaid turned

it over to us. Looking at the date, we found that the lunch was to be on the 10th of Moharrum We brought this to the Quaid's notice and he and Liaquat at once regretted their inability to attend. Lord Wavell sent a message to the King's Private Secrtary at once, and back came a reply with a change of date.

For a brief spell I occupied a seat next to Lord Wavell. He was a man of very few words, but spoke kindly and without any sophistication. Every word seemed to been weighed before it was uttered. He asked me pleasent questions about myself and my present assignment. We were approaching Basra and I happened to remark that I thought His Excellency was familiar with the area. He said simply that 'he knew something about it.'

Soon we landed at Basra. It was nearly mid-day. A large number of people had already gathered at the airport, including what looked like a whole battalion of Indian soldiers. The Sepoys gave a rousing welcome to the leaders of their respective communities. The Muslims shouted "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad," the Hindus greeted Nehru and Baldev Singh. It was a vociferous reception for the popular leaders, but unluckily nobody had a 'hurrah' for the old Viceroy, great soldier that he was. He must have commanded many of these men, I thought. Abell looked at me with an air of sadness and remarked that it looked like the end of the India Army. I agreed with him, but had to say that he should have known it much earlier.

The Quaid was greeted by a large number of Arabs and Indian Muslims. He was taken to the top of the airport building, where a member of group photographs of him were taken. The Indian Vice-Consul at Basra, a Muslim named Abdullah, also came up and watched the proceedings with unconcealed pleasure.

It soon came to be time for us to get back to the plane, which was now heading for Cairo. The Quaid returned to his papers. At about 4.30 in the afternoon, local time, we landed at Cairo airport. The scene we witnessed at the air port was far from edifying. The large body of Egyptian Muslims had apparently come to receive Pandit Nehru and went straight to him. Most of them, I was told, belonged to the Wafd Party, which had very strong links with the Congress. They hardly seemed to know or care for what happened to Muslims of India. A number of them asked me where the "Prime Minister" was—meaning Nehru. I told them there was no Prime Minister, which was only the truth. A few Egyptians, along with a number of Indian and Pakistani Muslims, came towards, the Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan. Their welcome was unspectacular, but sincere. Among other things, a copy of the Quran was presented to the Quaid on behalf of Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan, followed by Khurshid and myself, were taken to the Sheppard's Hotel, which at that time was in the fullness of its glory. They were given two suites side by side and we got two rooms in the same wing not far away. Here too, the Quaid set to work at once. He was surrounded by a number of newspaper men, who asked him questions about Pakistan—often hostile questions. The Quaid answered every one without the least hesitation or annoyance and held a kind of Press Conference with some of them. He was, however, very strict about the publication of any of his statements. Every newspaper man had to show him his story and to get his approval before it was published. Other visitors also poured in, including Muslims from the Sub-continent as well as Egyptians. The Quaid saw and talked to all of them. The only other thing he and Liaquat did in between was to call at the Palace and write their names in the Visitors' Book. This took us on to dinner time. The Quaid want-

ed to eat in the main dining-hall of the Hotel. As we sat at table, Abdur Rehman Azam, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, was announced. He was conducted straight to us and the Quaid asked him to join us at dinner. Azam had a warm word of greeting for the Quaid and welcomed him to Cairo on behalf of the Arab League. There was some political talk, relating mainly to the Hindu-Muslim tension in India and the demand for Pakistan, but it was primarily a courtesy call, and a pleasant meeting. After dinner the Quaid went back to his suite and the interviews started once again. At shout midnight I thought the waiting list had been exhausted. The Quaid asked whether any one else was waiting to see him. All those who had sent in their names had been interviewed. But on enquiry we found, to our surprise, that a number of Muslim soldiers from the Sub-continent, who were serving in the Middle East at the time, had lined up to catch a glimpse of their Quaid. When the Quaid was told of this, he was visibly moved. He came out of his room, shook hands with them and talked to them —every one of them. It was a long line, but the Quaid did not seem to be tired of seeing his people and sharing his inspiration with them. By the time the last Khuda Hafiz was said it was nearly one o'clock in the morning. The Quaid went to bed. So did we, or tried to. It was hardly three o'clock when we were awakened by the Hotel staff. We had to board our aircraft in less than an hour's time. Soon we were packed and gone. As we seated ourselves in the plane. I looked around at our companions. All of them except the Quaid and the Viceroy looked as though they had not sufficient rest, which was only true. The Viceroy looked composed, but none too bright. The Quaid, however, after having worked for an incredible eighteen hours or more, looked fresh I cannot vouch for this, but my impression was that he was shaved already. Liaquat, on the other hand, was as sleepy as we ordinary mortals were. He could certainly not have shaved. It usually took him something like an hour to go through the operation.

In the plane, we went to bed on the convertible sea. The Quaid too rested or I hope he did. I could not see him from my berth. I did, however, see someone in the far corner wrapped up in a blanket and already asleep It was the old Viceroy. I myself slept for an hour or two until the landing at Malta was announced.

Before we reached Malta one of our four engines had failed and the aircraft needed repairs. I asked the pilot whether his three engines were not good enough to carry us to London. He did not see my point. "I do not think so, Sir" said he as quietly and soberly as he could manage, "I could do with five engines if you ask me '. I did not think I could indulge in any more humour.

At the airport we were received by the Governor of Malta and his staff and taken to Government House. This is a place where one sees quite a few of the Old Masters on the walls ; and the gardens abound with trees planted by prominent men like Kaiser Wilhelm II in the days gone by. We were made extremely comfortable. The Governor, Sir Francis Douglas, lady Douglas and the Governor's Private Secretary, Mr. Batty were all courtesy. It soon became apparent that the aircraft would take much longer to repair than we thought. As the Viceroy and his companions could not be expected to wait indefinitely, it was arranged to recall another BOAC plane from near Marseilles to Malta for our use. It was late at night when this plane arrived and we saw its off-loaded passengers filing past us and looking at us with unmistakeable dissatisfaction. We took their ill-will in our stride and were soon flying to London in their plane.

III—STAY IN LONDON

We arrived in London on the morning of the 2nd, in the midst of a mild drizzle. Lord Pethic-Lawrence, the Secre

tary of State for India, and some other British Ministers were at the airport to receive the Party. I had a look at our luggage and papers before leaving the plane. By the time I got out I saw Liaquat Ali Khan standing near the runway before the microphone. The sun had just broken through the clouds, and I heard Liaquat say, "I have brought you sunshine." That, I should say, was a very appropriate remark. The British are sensitive to the weather, (I should say their weather) and conversation with them generally starts with how good or bad a day it is, or is going to be.

The Quaid's party was to stay at Claridges, which is regarded as one of the top-most hotels in London—probably the most aristocratic place to stay. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh stayed at the Dorchester, a recently built hotel of the top class not far away.

On the way to the hotel I sat in the same car with Abell, the Viceroy's Private Secretary, and some officials of the India office. We were having polite and pleasant conversation when I heard somebody say, "I wonder what is going to come out of this Conference," "I think", I said, as though the question had been addressed to me, "that the Congress are again going to have a 'try-on' with their so-called 'interpretation' of the Cabinet Mission Plan. We are here to see what happens to H.M.G. under that pressure." My remark came like a bomb shell. A sudden silence fell on the company and there was little conversation pleasant or otherwise, the rest of the way.

Claridges was a hotel meant for oil magnates, American bankers, the idle rich, the newly rich, and guests of His Majesty's Government. We were in the last category.

The Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan were put up in the Royal Suite of Claridges, famous as the residence of various

crowned heads of Europe, before or after they lost their crowns. King George of Greece, for example, lived there when he was not welcome in Greece.

Khurshid and I got rooms not far from the Quaid's suite, on the floor above. I had a double bed-room to myself. Next day when Altaf Hussain, Editor of 'DAWN' arrived from Delhi I invited him to share my room with me and we stayed together.

It is my impression that the Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan were asked to sign the hotel register on arrival. During one of my recent visits to London I tried to trace their signatures in the hotel books but without success.

The Conference started at once. Before and after the official sessions, a number of informal meetings took place at the hotel between the Quaid and British politicians and other public men. Among the visitors, I recall Mr. A.V. Alexander, Mr. R.A. (now Lord) Butler, my own former chief, Sir Jermy Raisman, Sir Archibald Rowlands and a number of others. The Quaid and Liaquat paid a visit to Winston Churchill. I think it was arranged by Mr. Butler.

There were distinct and separate arrangements in London for the entertainment of the Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan on the one hand and Nehru and Baldev Singh on the other. The four leaders never came together except at the King's Lunch and the India House reception. I cannot say anything about the lunch as I was not present, but at the reception given by Sir Samul Ranganadan, the High Commissioner for India, I could see them divide naturally into two groups surrounded by their own admirers and adherents.

The Quaid was entertained to a big reception at Lancaster House. There was a lunch in his honour by the House of

Commons and a dinner by the Lords. Both these functions took place in the Commons at the Lord's Chamber was not available at the time. It was I think under repairs. The lunch, I remember, was held in the Chess Room of the House of Commons.

Mr. Alexander and Lord Addison were the main British contacts for the Quaid and Liaquat while Sir Stafford Cripps took charge of Nehru and Baldev Singh. I did not see Cripps at any of the parties given for the Quaid and Liaquat, including the Commons and Lords' parties.

About these parties, I remember an amusing incident, which could easily have become less than amusing. One day I received an invitation to a party in honour of Nehru and Beldev Singh. I was sure it was a mistake, due probably to the fact that the India office had not sorted out the names of the civil servants attached to the various personages. I knew the invitation was not meant for me and rang up the official concerned to tell him I was Liaquat's Private Secretary and to ask whether I was *really* expected at the party. The reply was a string of apologies, and a profusion of thanks. It was a silly mistake to be sure, and would I *very kindly* treat the invitation as cancelled ? I naturally did. I had no intention of going to the party any way.

Prominent among those at the Common's lunch to the Quaid were Mr. G. Nicholson, Mr. Hopkins-Morris, Mr.Arthur Henderson, the Revered R.W. Sorensen and Major Woodrow Wyatt. Lord Pethic-Lawrence and Sir Samuel Ranganadan were also present. I was wedged between Messrs Nicholson and Hopkins Morris.

Hopkins-Morris kept up a nice conversation with me, but Nicholson was angry from the start. "Why did your people renounce the titles and honours conferred on them by His

Majesty ?". he asked. I said that as far as I could say, this was a political decision meant to demonstrate Muslim dissatisfaction against the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the Muslim demands. I assured him that no disrespect was intended by any one towards the Crown. I could see, however, that my explanation was little comfort. Inwardly I wondered whether any one had cared or dared to address a similar question to Pandit Nehru or any of his companions, even though the renunciation of titles and Honours was a joint Congress-League decision. As things stood round the table, all I could do was to try and turn the conversation, which I succeeded in doing after some manoeuvring with my irate companion.

After lunch, for some reason, Mr. Sorensen picked on me for some serious discussion. "I know all about the political background of the present situation. I know the moves and counter-moves. But what I want to know from you is something about the inner content of the Pakistan movement. Tell me, what does it really stand for ?" I gave him a broad history of Hindu-Muslim relations over the last one thousand years as well as my view of the historical forces that were operating in present political conflict. I mentioned the role of Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal and Jinnah. Sorensen, who had been a member of the Parliamentary Delegation to India which preceded the Cabinet Mission seemed to listen attentively. Nevertheless, I got the impression that my words were not sinking in. His mind seemed to be closed and I could not help thinking that the historical aspect of the matter, which was most vital to a proper understanding of the constitutional problem, had either not been put to him or he had not cared to study it.

At the Lord's dinner I sat next to the Earl of Listowel whom I found to be a gentleman of refinement and culture.

The Lord's dinner became memorable for me because of an outburst by Liaquat Ali Khan. I was busy eating and talking to my neighbour when I heard Liaquat suddenly raise his voice. "Gentleman", he thundered, "if you insist on this attitude of yours, then you and you alone will be responsible for the blood of a hundred million Mussalmans of India." This was followed by pin-drop silence in the room, and it seemed that from that point onwards, every body preferred dealing with food than with political issues. As I had not followed the earlier conversation, I cannot say in what context the proverbially phlegmatic Liaquat had lost his temper. I suspect, however, that someone round the table had tried to play down the Muslim demands and suggested a brilliant solution of his own. I have never heard Liaquat speak so vehemently before or after.

The King's lunch was the occasion of one of the Quaid's pronouncements on sartorial propriety. While dressing for the lunch Liaquat put on a white collar but, through some inadvertence, he had a coloured shirt on. I happened to see it and advised him to change it for a white shirt. No one could wear a coloured shirt at a Viceregal lunch or garden party. The King's lunch if anything, would be even more formal.

Liaquat was, however, somewhat unconvinced and felt that a white collar was sufficient recognition of the formality of the occasion. While we were having a mild argument over the shirt, the Quaid came in. Liaquat turned to him, "Is it really necessary Sir", he asked, "to wear a white shirt for the King's lunch ? Mumtaz Hasan says I must." "Oh yes, Liaquat", said the Quaid "he's right. You can't go in a coloured shirt." Poor Liaquat had to go back to his bedroom to change. The Quaid smiled at me approvingly. He himself was dressed with simple dignity in a dark suit, with a dark necktie and a spotless shirt. He looked the model of aristocratic elegance. The

most illustrious peer in England could not have looked more impressive. He was always like that, the Quaid was. I never saw anyone who came to see him or stood near him who did not look a smaller man that he. This of course was not a question of dress but of the gigantic personality of the man. His great experience, his transparent sincerity and his whole-hearted devotion to a cause marked him out from other men.

The Quaid and Liaquat had two Daimler cars placed at their disposal by the British Government. There were also two Scotland yard men attached to them for security. I entered into a conspiracy with Khurshid and we arranged to take over one of the cars along with one of the Scotland yard men. We were not worried about security, (nor were the Quaid or Liaquat for that matter) but we needed a guide to show us around London during the few hours when our masters could dispense with our services. The Quaid was duly informed of our designs on the second car and the second man. "You won't mind, Sir, would you?" I said, with a certain amount of hesitation. The Quaid understood the how and why of it at once. His reply was a benevolent smile. That meant approval, and we went ahead with the plan.

Detective Tuppen kept us company while Sergeant Ewing looked after the Quaid and Liaquat. It was a wonderful arrangement and we saw more of London in those few days then I have been able to do in all my later visits.

Once or twice the Quaid and Liaquat went out shopping. They walked round to Bond Street, the Quaid to buy something for Miss Fatima Jinnah and Liaquat for the Begum. It was no more than a little stroll but I found Sergeant Ewing, who accompanied them, as alert as anyone could be. He and Tuppen were both first class men, and Ewing had served in India for some time. The traffic police, too, seemed to know about

the Quaid and Liaquat and eyed them with a certain amount of curiosity mixed with respect.

The Conference came to its predestined end on the 6th of December. On that day, the British Government issued a statement categorically repudiating the Congress "interpretation" of the Cabinet Mission Plan. They added that legal experts had been consulted and had agreed with the Government view. In spite of the clarification Congress stuck to its "interpretation". The Muslim League refused to go ahead with their constitution making without the Muslim League. That was the parting of the ways. There was no choice for the Muslims except Pakistan.

The Indian Constituent Assembly was due to meet on the 9th December. As soon as the Conference was over Nehru dashed back to Delhi, a somewhat sad looking man judging from the pictures of him on the homeward plane. The Quaid and Liaquat decided to stay on in London for fortnight or so.

The Quaid had extended his stay in London with the main object of acquainting British public opinion with the Muslim case. The Congress had been in the field for quite a few years already, and men like Krishna Menon had covered the length and breadth of the land with Congress propaganda. The Congress High Command had a long association and a firm understanding with the Labour Party and the relationship had become all the warmer with Labour's return to office after the War, and the prospect of the Congress becoming rulers of a free India. The Congress hold over the Labour Party was to be clearly demonstrated two months later in the dismissal, at their instance, of Lord Wavell who, as a simple military man, had found himself unable to accept the Congress "interpretation" of the Cabinet Mission Plan. One their side, the Muslim League had done little ('damn-all' would be the Sandhurst

English for it) to educate public opinion and the Quaid's was the first serious attempt in this direction.

The Conference gave us a hectic time but the next fortnight passed at a more leisurely pace. The Quaid did not relax, but we did. And I had the good fortune to watch him at greater ease during that fortnight.

He was a man of spartan austerity. One could not imagine him taking things easy. He was an early riser, in spite of the London winter. An old man of seventy, he got up before seven o'clock. The morning tea was brought to him at seven punctually, and by the eight o'clock he had shaved and bathed, and was at his desk, fully dressed and ready for the day. He had, by that time, run through most of his mail. He opened all his letters himself, read every word, and dictated most of the replies himself. I have spoken elsewhere about his meticulous vetting of newspaper stories Journalists were not authorised to publish his interviews without showing their drafts to him. He was abstemious about food, in complete contrast to the general run of Muslim leaders with their proverbial predilection for culinary luxury. And believe it or not, he was not fond of personal publicity, did not look forward to being taken out in procession or having his photograph in the newspapers. Judging by the kind of person one generally meets in politics, it would seem to be the politician's job in life to remain in the public eye, to take credit for the good work of other people, and to pass on to them the blame for his own shortcomings. If so, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was not a politician in the ordinary sense of the word. He was entirely different. He came straight to the point when others beat about the bush. He did not speak with mental reservations, nor did he waste any time, when business was on, in unnecessary compliments or courtesies. Aristocrtic by temperament, he

was nonetheless the most democratic of men. He sometimes appeared to behave proudly towards the high and mighty, but was always considerate towards the lowly and the humble. As a leader, he believed in leading-pointing to the goal, chalking out a path in the right direction, and being the first to follow his own lead. Most so-called 'leaders' are led by their followers ; they try to feel the public pulse, and be in tune with it. Not so Jinnah. He was fond of his people, but he never pondered to public sentiment. He always said and did what thought was right and good for his people. And the people took it from him as he stood on principles and could not be purchased at any price. Stiff-necked with self-assured politicians and the double-dealing fraternity of time-servers, he was like a father to the younger generation, benevolent, forgiving and an inspiration to good work.

He shook every one when he got angry, as he did now and then, but when he wanted to be charming, he was devastatingly charming. I never heard him laugh aloud, but, he had a smile. And what a smile. It was nothing but another name for conquest. He could recall an amusing experience or tell a funny anecdote, but this happened in rare moments, moments all too rare. In his day to day life, with the weight of responsibility he carried for the future of Indian Muslims, he seldom met his private self. The Quaid-e-Azam kept Muhammad Ali Jinnah away.

Such was the Quaid I saw. He spent that fortnight working hard at press interviews, meetings with prominent politicians and public speeches. I remember the speech he made at Kingsway Hall, in Holborn, London to an audience of three thousand or more. The Hall was full, if not over-full. The proceedings began with a short introductory speech by Z. A. Suleri, the then "Dawn" representative in London. Then the Quaid rose. He started like a lawyer speaking to his brief,

with an array of facts and arguments He began slowly, but his voice took on a deep resonance as he proceeded. At one point, he dramatically raised his voice. "Why don't the Congress let us have one fourth of India, that one fourth which is rightly and clearly ours?" he asked. He paused, and his voice rose to its highest pitch as he added, "It is because they want the whole of India to themselves."

As he was tracing the recent history of Hindu-Muslim relations, the bitterness and the killings, the tragedies of Calcutta and Bihar, a young Hindu, probably a student, got out of control. "You are the man responsible for all this" he shouted angrily, half jumping from his chair. There was a murmur round the room, and the situation looked explosive. We had already been warned by the Police of the possibility of trouble, and I became apprehensive. The Volunteers, quietly and immediately, removed the demonstrator from the meeting, which went on without further let or hindrance. In that nervous moment there was one man who did not show the least little perturbation or concern, and that was the Quaid. He did not so much as look at the fellow who was trying to malign him and cause disturbance. He paused for less than a second, and went on with his arguments as though nothing had happened. He was pleading before the bar of public opinion, and nothing could distract him from the business in hand. I noticed that Olympian calm of his on more than one occasions.

Incidentally, I was told that the demonstrator was physically handled outside the Hall. That was bad, and I knew what the reaction of the Quaid would be if he came to know of it. We had to keep the ugly sequel secret from him.

During his stay in London the Quaid went for the Friday prayer. As the Friday approached, we suggested that he should

say his prayers in public. Liaquat Ali Khan, who prayed in private (almost in secret) and thought he should not make a show of it, was somewhat reluctant. But the Quaid was positive. "Oh yes Liaquat, let us go and pray" and Liaquat went.

The Quaid had made one condition. He wanted to go to a mosque where the Muslims, particularly of the poorer class, went to pray without distinction of race, nationality or sect. Enquiries were made and the East London Mosque was chosen as the place of prayer. It was the kind of mosque the Quaid wanted. When we reached it, a large congregation had assembled there already, and the normal prayer chamber being insufficient, they had moved down to the basement. As the Quaid came in, they made way for him and wanted him to come to the front row. He declined and sat down quietly in the last row, the place any other man would normally have occupied. "I have come now" he said simply, "and must sit here. Had I come before you, I could have sat in front." There was no more argument. Some other people arrived after us and there was one more row formed behind us by the back wall. After the prayer, the whole congregation thronged round the Quaid. Their eyes glowed with the joy of his presence with them. Some young people wanted and got autographs I remember one man, probably a hawker, who nearly broke down with emotion. Raising his hands in prayer, he said, "O God, give my life to Mohammad Ali Jinnah." It was so spontaneous and genuine that it was difficult to hold back one's tears.

I also remember a remarkable evening at Dr. Buchman's. He invited the Quaid to witness an M R.A. play called "The Forgotten Factor" at the Westminster Theatre. The author, if I remember right, was Peter Howard, the most prominent

writer of the Moral Reamament Movement He was present and came on to the stage after the performance.

After the play, we went to Dr. Buchman's house for dinner. He lived at 45, Berkeley Square, which once belonged to Lord Clive. It was certainly reminiscent of that great Noble. It was an elegant mansion, luxuriously appointed, and as the residence of the herd of the M.R A. represented a rare combination of the moral leadership and comfortable living. The drawing room was big enough for a palace, with a red carpet covering the length and breadth of the floor. As we went for dinner, a sumptuous meal was waiting for us. And there was nice company too. I found myself sitting between two young ladies who spoke to me of Moral Rearmament. One of them (I forgot the gentle lady's name, but her Christian name was Erika) presented me with a copy of "Ideas have Legs", a book of Peter Howard's which proved to be interesting reading.

The Quaid sat next to the host. Dr. Buchman led the conversation to his own Movement and I though the Quaid was listening attentively. A few minutes later, however, when I looked in their direction, I found that the Quaid had taken charge and the subject had changed from Moral Rearmament to Pakistan. It happened so imperceptibly that none of us round the table noticed the change. Now, for a good two hours or so it was Pakistan and nothing else. Even my good-looking companions who had probably got tired of preaching their sermon to a stone, asked me about Pakistan.

The Quaid's stay in London was a momentous event in the history of the Pakistan Movement. By his lucid advocacy of the Muslim case he succeeded in dispelling a great deal of doubt and suspicion and convinced the British politicians that

there was only one solution of the constitutional problem of India, namely "divide and quit". They did not like the conclusion to which they were being driven but the Quaid's facts were unassailable and his arguments unanswerable. He had been a name at the London Bar where he had practised in the years of his exile, and nobody could withstand his logic. He was positive and clear in everything he said. Unlike other politicians he never wished to hide behind vague phrases and doubtful statemen s which might be open to more than one interpretation. He did not want escape routes. I can still see him pointing his finger at his interviews and put on the famous monocle to emphasise a point. One often wished one were a photographer to catch him at such moments.

In London the Quaid won his battle against the Congress and the Labour Government. His contacts with British politicians, however, did not enhance his respect for them. In particular, he expressed surprise more than once that the British people, for whom he had nothing but regard and respect, had no better man than Attlee to lead them at that critical juncture in the history of Britain.

The Quaid decided to leave London on the 18th December. The Chairman of the B.O.A C. had placed his personal plane at his disposal. It was to take us to Cairo, where the Quaid spent three historic days on his way back to Karachi.

IV—THE RETURN JOURNEY

On the way back our aircraft had its first stop at Marseilles airport, which I think was called Marigan. Here the Quaid had breakfast. He was in a happy mood, and asked the waiter playfully for 'pain' and beurre' (French for bread and

butter respectively) even though the poor 'garoon' spoke good English.

Marseilles reminded the Quaid of one of his encounters with the French Customs in his younger days. On that particular occasion, the Customs officer had gone through the luggage, and finding nothing was looking somewhat disappointed with his performance. As he was about to give clearance, his eye fell on a box of expensive cigarettes that the passenger was carrying in his hand, and he demanded duty on it. The Quaid said he tried to explain that he was smoking these cigarettes and no duty could be charged on them, but the officer thought he had scored a point and was not willing to let go. "While the argument was going on", the Quaid recalled, "a brilliant idea came to my mind. I just threw the box of cigarettes away, outside the Customs enclosure. 'What cigarettes are you talking about? I have none " The officer was completely taken aback by the stratagem and had to accept defeat." "I lost my cigarettes", added the Quaid with a smile, "but he lost his duty." A famous victory as they say.

While we were still at breakfast—there were only four of us, the Quaid, Liaquat, Khurshid and I—the Quaid's mind turned to current political events. He referred to the recent decision of the Indian Constituent Assembly to declare India as a Republic, and asked me what I thought of it from the Muslim point of view. I said that Islam did not permit a Muslim to accept a form of Government which vested human beings with the final and unrestricted power of law-making. Man was only the vicegerent of God. God was the supreme ruler of the universe and man derived his authority from Him and could exercise it only subject to His laws as revealed through the Prophet. The Quaid agreed that that was the

essential point of principle. Otherwise, he added, forms of Government did not matter. "Pakistan might, for instance" said he, a little casually I thought "decide to have a Monarch" 'They are already saying "Shahinsha i-Pakistan Zindabad" said Liaquat Ali Khan, trying to be helpful. "No Sir" the Quaid said," "Monarchy is not an approved form of Government in Islam. Islam does not like kings. The word 'Malik' (kind) is used in the Quran only as a name of God." (This, I realised latter was an exaggeration. The Quran does mention King Jalut (Goliath), although it speak of him and other kings disappiovingly). The Quaid agreed. "Whatever the form of Government" said he, "sovereignty in a Muslim State must rest in the Quran" I must say I was amazed a this remark. I had not thought that, with all his Western background and experience in twentieth century constitution-making and constitution-running, the Quaid had such a profound understanding of the fundamental principle of Islam.

Our next halt was at Malta, where the Quaid as received at the airport by the Governor. We then left for Cairo where we arrived the same morning. The flight was a little bumpy and the Captain, when he sent us the flight information, added his request for the bumps. That was typical British courteousy and humour. He was a good Captain and kept us as comfortable and warm in the plane as we could possibly hope to be on a cold winter morning.

At Cairo, where we went as guests of the Arab League, we were again accommodated at Sheppard's Hotel. The Quaid wanted his old room back. The Management found this a little difficult at first but were eventually able to fix it up. Liaquat Ali Khan was also given his old room.

Immediately on reaching Cairo, the Quaid was entertained to lunch by Noqrashi Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, at the Muhammad Ali Club. It was a distinguished gathering, and included, among others, the then Rector of Al-Azhar and Hasnin Haikal Pasha, the famous author of the 'Life of the Prophet' and other works, and who was, at that time, the President of the Egyptian Senate. At the lunch I met, for the first time, my late friend Abdul Wahab Azzam, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the Fuad University, and, later, U.A.R. Ambassador to Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan introduced me to him and asked me to deal with a matter in which Azzam was interested. He wanted a Lecturer in Urdu and requested me to speed up the formalities, at the Indian end, about a scholar who had already been selected. That was done on my return to Delhi, and Dr. Muhammad Yusuf, now Head of the Arabic Faculty at the Karachi University, went to the Fuad University.

A group photograph was taken at Noqrashi Pasha's luncheon, where I stood behind the Quaid. I particularly remember it as I had to elbow myself into that coveted position in the face of other claimants.

The picture has tragic associations, as it includes two Prime Ministers, Noqrashi and Liaquat, both of whom were destined to fall to the assasin's bullets.

The next invitation came from Nahas Pasha, the Wafdist leader who had been Prime Minister and was now Leader of the Opposition. He asked the Quaid to dinner. His invitation was in French while that of Noqrashi Pasha had been in English. (I was told that the Law School in Cairo had been established by the French Government and Egyptian lawyers all knew French) Nahas was a great friend of Nehru and the Congress and the Quaid wanted to meet him. At lunch one

day he had asked what I thought of Nahas. I said he had considerable nuisance value, and as an enemy was worth cultivating. "I agree with you. That is what I feel myself" I do not think the Quaid really needed any advice about this, he only wanted our reactions.

Nahas Pashas was a popular leader and had the reputation of being the Egyptian Gandhi. But when we reached his villa in the Garden City of Cairo, we saw little of austerity. The porch had marble columns and the sofas in the drawing room were covered with brocade. As we sat down to dinner, we had silver cutlery and the walls were lined with giant mirrors. I concluded that the standards of austerity were different in Cairo than in the Sabarmati Ashram. And why not ?

It was one of the most luxurious dinners I have ever had. As a momento of the occasion. I asked all present to sign my menu card for me in English and Arabic/Urdu. The idea was welcome and every one had his card similarly autographed. I have preserved mine. which has the Quaid's signature both in English and Urdu. That is probably the only signature there is of him in Urdu.

After dinner, Nahas and the Quaid retired for a long tete-a-tete in a separate room with only an interpreter present (Nahas spoke French). It went on till one O'clock in the morning. In the meantime, we sat in the drawing room cooling our heels. That conversation was crusial. It changed Nahas's attitude towards the Muslims of India whom he had been led by Congress propaganda to regard as British stooges and an obstacle to Independence. Next morning when he called at Sheppard's he embraced the Quaid and kissed him on both cheeks. This is a normal Arab greeting, but there was an unusual warmth in manner, which the Quaid remembered ever after.

Abaza Pasha, Minister of Communications, invited the Quaid to tea. It was a large party, and I was told that the Abaza family was one of the most influential in the Government. The host made a short speech of welcome to which the Quaid replied. He explained how the Muslims of India were having to fight a battle against the British as well as the Hindus because they did not wish to exchange one master for another. Egypt's fight for freedom was on example to the Muslims of India. Muslim world had problems in common, and to find comman solution for them. "We all have to sink or swim together", said the Quaid, in a memorable peroration, "and by the grace of God, we shall swim together".

Alrhough the Quaid's reference to the Muslim world evoked prolonged applause, I did not feel that the impression it had made was more than skin-deep. I had some discussion on the subject with Adil Sabit, who was a kind of protocol officer with us on behalf of the Arab League, and was a modern educated man with a balanced and refined temperament. He always spok of the Arabs. "Why not the unity of Muslim world ?" "Why not the Muslim League instead of the Arab League ?" To which he invariably said that the time was not yet ripe. For him, the Arab League was going to be a step towards the Muslim League, but it was going to be a long time before that step could be taken. I did not blame him. European influence has produced this kind of attitude among Muslims all over the world. The pity of it is that the Muslims are getting more deeply involved in the concepts of race and nationality precisely at a time when the Europeans are striving to get out of them. The Muslim world seems to be destined to trail at least half a century behind the West.

In Cairo I saw more of the Quaid as a chief. One day Khurshid developed a slight temperature and was confined to

bed. As soon as the Quaid heard about it, he left his work and came all the way to Khurshid's room to enquire after his health. I was with Khurshid at the time. We assured the Quaid that it was only a mild indisposition which was being treated and should soon be over. It was only after he had satisfied himself that nothing serious was the matter that he went back to his room.

Incidentally, Khurshid wore the Quaid's overcoat throughout the tour. He did not happen to have his own when we started from Karachi, and Quaid gave him one of his.

The second instance of the Quaid's solicitude for those who worked for him concerns myself. One afternoon, when the Quaid and Liaquat Ali Khan were going to a big party. (I think it was the Arab League reception), I felt an irresistable desire to visit the Pyramids. It was my first visit to Cairo, (on the way to London we had just passed through) and I did not want to go away without seeing those ancient wonders. I put it to the Quaid who readily agreed. "But", he added sternly, pointing the famous finger at me, "on one condition : you will not try to climb them." He said this so emphatically that I thought he felt that unless he warned me properly, I would not be able to resist the temptation of climbing the Pyramids, and that would mean one man less in his party. I was anxious to get away, and assured the Quaid that his orders would be observed. But I did not realise the force of his injunction until I came to set my eyes on the Pyramids themselves. I confess I felt very much like climbing them, a little way in any case, but the promise I had made to the Quaid held me back. The guide incidentally told me that many tourists had tried to climb the Pyramids but had lost balance and fallen to their death.

There were a number of Muslims from the Sub-continent in Cairo as in London. They wanted to see the Quaid, who

was accessible to every one if he was physically available at all. Most of them wanted to be able to say they had seen the great man—something to tell their children and their social rivals. Some of them were suspected to be Congress agents, who kept hanging around to see what the Quaid did and who came to see him. But that made no difierence to the Quaid or to us. His life and work were an open book for all to see.

The three days the Quaid spent in Cairo are an important landmark in the history of the Muslim struggle for freedom. It was the first time the Indian Muslim viewpoint was put to the Egyptian. So far the Congress had the field entirely to themselves. That, of course, was the Muslims' own fault.

We were not able to see much of Cairo otherwise, except that we went to variety theatre one evening with Hasni Khalifa, a rising young journalist and a very pleasant companion. I was surprised to see a police officer in uniform setting upon the stage and dance with one of the cabaret performers. This was apparently unusual even in Cairo, and Khalifa felt embarrassed Khurshid and I were normally free in the evening, but as soon as one stepped out of Sheppard's, one was surrounded by the most ancient profession or the most ancient but one. Khurshid once lost his temper with a fellow who followed us persistently and could not believe what we told him repeatedly—that we had no need of his services. This sort of thing was probly the hang-over of the second world War. I am sure Cairo is no longer the City of Sin that it was. Even if it is, there are certainly other cities in East and West that are far ahead.

The Quaid left Cairo on the 20th evening. The BOAC, I am afraid, blotted their copybook on this occasion. After having assured us, in writing, that we would get sleeping berths

in the sircraft, in the same manner as we had on the way out, they took us in a plane that had no sleeping berths. The Quaid had to sit through the night. This caused him a great deal of discomfort and strain, although, characteristically, he did not show it and never complained. I should add that the BOAC had been particularly solicitious about the Quaid's comfort and convenience throughout. This time I think some underling let them down.

On the 21st morning, the plane touched down at Karachi, and the Quaid disembarked. Before leaving the plane, he took the trouble to come to me specially to say good bye. "Thank you for your assistance", he said, in his most gracious manner, "it may be some time before we meet again. Good bye". He was soon lost in the midst of a huge crowd that had already gathered at the airport to welcome him back. Liaquat Ali Khan and I went on to Delhi where we landed uneventfully the same morning.

This year 1947 began with trouble. The Bihar riots of October 1946 had sent up the whole of the Subcontinent into flames. Bihar had its repurcussions and further repurcussions. Law and order had gone by the board. In the Round Table Conference of December 1946, the difference between the League and the Congress had widened. This made the situation worse. There had been communal rioting already, and the anticipation of coming events added fuel to the fire. At this stage Gandhi and Jinnah issued a joint Peace Appeal to all communities to remain calm and peaceful. This was in April 1947.

I was then Private Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan, and had to keep my eyes and ears open. The official channels of information and intelligence were all in the hands of the Congress, and one had to depend upon oneself to know what

was going on. I had my own means of securing information and had to keep myself in touch with the situation. The atmosphere was tense. Information kept trickling in about the preparations that were being made by the Hindus and Sikhs, particularly the latter, for a show-down at the time of Partition. Sufficient evidence had accumulated to show that the Sikhs were on the war path, although the scale on which things actually happened later was not clear then. As a civil servant, I considered law and order to be of supreme importance at a time when the whole future of the Sub-continent was to be settled and felt it my duty to speak to Liaquat Ali Khan about the matter. I took him through the information that had been gathered and suggested that the Muslim League organizations be warned of the situation. At the same time all Muslim League workers must be ordered to maintain discipline and not to lose control over themselves even in the face of provocation.

Liaquat Ali Khan, as was his wont, heard me out patiently and carefully. "We shall consider," he said. This is what he always said whenever I took any important matter to him. I left my papers with him, for him to read them for himself once again and think over the matter.

I reminded him once or twice during the week that followed. "We shall consider" was all that I could get out of him. One day I saw him coming to office with a long face. "What is the matter ?" I asked anxiously. "The Quaid does not agree" he said. "The Quaid does not agree to what ?" I asked somewhat light-heartedly in order to cheer him up. "I is all about these Sikh preparations. The Quaid has been very angry with me." "Why should he be angry at all ?" I said, "After all the suggestion was only to put our people on the alert, and not to provoke them into any aggression or indiscipline." "I explained all that to the Quaid", said Liaquat, "'but he would not listen. 'Do you think I am a hypocrite ?' he said. 'On the

one hand you ask me to sign a Peace Appeal and on the other hand you want me to ask my people to prepare for a breach of that peace. I can not do that and I shall not.' That is what the Quaid said and that was that."

It was my turn now to say something. I did not feel happy at all. "Why did you have to go to the Quaid ?" I asked. "You knew how he would look at it. After all you yourself are the General Secretary of the Muslim League and this was an ordinary organisational matter". "You are mistaken, my friend", said Liaquat, "Nothing like this could be done without the Quaid's approval."

I kept quiet, but could not conceal my disappointment. Liaquat noticed this and tried to say something encouraging. Beneath that stolid exterior, he was a very kind and warm-hearted man, Liaquat was. "There is some good news too" he said with a smile. "You know the Quaid has agreed to provide transport for the N.W.F.P. Referendum."

This was a good decision, as the Referendum could not have been organised without transport But it did not cheer me up as much as it should have. "I am sure this is a good decision which the Quaid and you have taken", I said, "but I do not think it could counter balance the other one. I am sorry to the Quaid about it."

Liaquat did not reply. Was he right ? Was I right ? Was the Quaid right ?

I have been pondering those questions for the last twenty years and more. I think the Quaid was right. There was an inherent contradiction in my suggestion. How could any one except the Quaid to ask all communities to remain peaceful on the one hand and at the same time to tell his own people to prepare themselves for conflict on the other ? How could one expect that man, that monument of honesty, to indulge in any kind of duplicity whatever ?

Jinnah A Man of Faith & Honesty

by

DR. KHALIFA ABDUL HAKIM

M. A. JINNAH spent his whole life as a lawyer-politician until in the last decade of his life, destiny chose him to become the architect of a free State Politics is a deleterious profession like some poisonous handicrafts and in law courts is not a question of defence of following or abstract justice, but of nations of the interest of a client, which is the core of the profession of advocacy. How difficult it is to preserve the code of elementry ethics in the trade of law and politics has been the common experience of man since the time of the Athenean Sophists more than two millenniums ago. They taught that there was no absolute truth or absolute justice and

human life was formed by the relativities of human selfishness and shifting exigencies. Disraeli acknowledged that there was no gambling like politics. Machiavelli taught that politics and moralities must be kept apart. Self-seekers and lovers of power jump into the arena of politics without any other qualification except the unscrupulous pursuit of power and glory Politics is the only profession ⁏for which no preparation is thought necessary. Socrates said in the 'Republic' of Plato : You trust a man with making constitutions on less proof of competence than you would demand before you gave him your shoe to patch.' Dissimulation and hypocrisy are the warp and woof of the fabric of political life. When Rurzon accused Indias of being liars, Phesterton wrote that life in India must be chokingly false that a party politician like Rurzon too should find it stinking because falsehood is any indispensable ingrediant of party politics. Louis Mc Henr Howe in his address to Columbia University School of Journalism remarked : 'You cannot adopt politics as a profession and remain honest. In the realm of politics, scrupulous people are not supposed to be suited to great affairs. This is the dilemma of politics : Froating on a plank in a tempestuous stream and trying to keep high and dry.

A FEW PERSONS

But there have always been a few individuals in every nations who have believed that although it is very difficult, it is not impossible to moralise law and politics. It is an uphill task, but it has been off and on attempted with marvellous success by men of unsullied integrity. Abraham Lincoln, the saviour of the United States and as an emancipator of slaves, the saviour of humanity, was a practising lawyer and a practical politician. Mahatma Gandi, the maker of Hindu India, practised law in South Africa while trying to lead a saintly life. Allama Iqbal, the Poet of the Spirit, the ideological founder of

Pakistan and teacher of a regenerated Islam, practised law for about three decades until the time that ill health compelled him to give up legal practice. The crowing glory of the Quid-e-Azam was to maintain his integrity in the professions that offer a constant challenge to a man's moral sense. Like Abraham Lincoln, he had set up a monetary equivalent of his time. It was immaterial for him whether a case involved a few thousands or several millions. He would scrupulously count the hours spent on studying a brief or conducting a case and ask the client to pay only so much and no more. He would always religiously adhere to the contract; no temptation, however great, could make him swerve. He considered his work in the Legislature too as a moral obligation and not as a stepping stone to personal glory. He had to attend a session of the Indian Legislature on a particular day and make his contribution to the debating of an issue. It is said that a client offered him Rs. 1 lakh if he would conduct his case on that very date. Jinnah, the incorruptible could not be tempted away from the path of what he considered to be his duty.

Integrity has an universal appeal and wherever there is evidence of unsullied character, human nature has a tendency to bow to it in devout homage, irrespective of the difference of creeds and castes. On account of these admirable traits of his character, he was the trusted leader of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Gynics say that every man has his price and when the proper price is offered, the man can be purchased. But there was no price that British imperialism eould offer, no false honour that his own community could hold out and no monetary gain that a client could present that could purchase Jinnah for an object or a cause that he believed to be wrong. When the Muslim League was struggling for its very life and fighting on two fronts—against British imperialism and Hindu communalism—very often some of his own colleagues advised

him to compromise with persons or causes that ran counter to his aims in order to gain some tactical advantage. But the great leader was adamant, often offending to the men of little faith. For him, political bribery was as detestable as bribery in private life. For him a rightly-conceived principle was more important than the lure of power. He did not believe that the prospect of achieving ostensibly noble aims could justify the use of dirty means. It is a low-minded philosophy that creates such a rationalisation.

Political opponents of Jinnah averred that he was not a religious man and said how could a man, indifferent to religious observances, aspire to create a State on a religious basis. It all depends on one's concept of religion and religious life. If selfless devotion to a good cause that would enrich the values of life is no religion, what else is religion meant for ? The Holy Prophet said : "Virtuous deeds are the 70th part of true faith" (Bukhari) and the Great Khalifa Omer Farooq said : "Judge not people by their prayers and fastings, but judge them by their behaviour and their deeds." No doubt, external observances have their place in life and have their uses, but they are all meant to strengthen a man is leading a virtuous life. I heard Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani say that in his contacts with the Quaid-i-Azam, he felt that the great leader had a much firmer faith in God than millions of so called religious men, who spend their lives in theologies and scrupulous observance of religious formalities.

At a momentous meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi, when a perverted religio-political party created pandemonium with acts and threats of personal violence, the most unperturbed man was the Quaid-i-Azam who was presiding. When the meeting broke up he started moving out undisturbed and unattended. The Pir of Manki Sharif and others were apprehensive about his personal safety and offered to protect and escort him. He refused and pointing a finger towards the heavens, he asked

the Pir Sahib: "Is He not there ?" Such was the faith of the fearless man transcending the faith of the professionally religious leaders. If I remember rightly, it was Sirdar Abdur Rab Nishtar who asked him once : "How is it that these bearded and robed theologians, who consider themselves the custodians of Islam follow you so implicitly ?" The Quaid-i-Azam replied : "They are convinced of my sincerity."

Islam is not another worldly creed. Its purpose is the spiritualisation of every aspect of life. The prophet of Islam led a full life, the life of a house holder, a moral preacher, a political leader, a moulder of economic life, the regulator of war and peace and a guide in international relations. Every human relation is a testing ground of character. In the battle of good and evil, the ascetic is a deserter. Jinnah wanted the Islamic State to be a spiritual State having its roots in God. The concepts of a theocratic or a secular State are the creations of western history. The Quaid-i-Azam, who desired to have an Islamic basis for Pakistan, at the same time appreciated all the advantages envisaged by the so-called secular State. He was not conscious of any contradiction, because from the Islamic viewpoint, there is none. He would not have tolerated any theocracy if it means "Government by the priests." because Islam has no priesthood. Every honest Muslim is a custodian of Islam. The State has to be guided by a consensus of all intelligent and honest Muslims conversant with the broad principles of Islam. I had the opportunity of hearing from the Quaid-i-Azam his views about the different political systems of the West. He was averse to any kind of totalitarian State, whether religious or atheistic. He had a good deal of admiration for the British democratic system, in which free clashes of political attitude and unrestricted discussion of all political and economic issuse almost invariably ended in a decent practical solution. He believed in the

liberty of the individual, for which he had put up a life-long fight. For him, an Islamic State meant a supremely human State, in which all human beings, irrespective of their creeds and cultures, enjoy all legitimate liberties. The Constitution has to be based on the Islamic principle of justice for all and unhampered freedom of conscience. I am convinced that if Allah had granted him another five years of life to work for the consolidation of Pakistan, this prevarication and procrastination about the framing of a Constitution could not have happened. He would have evolved a theo-democratic constitution on broad and liberal principles of Islam. The man who started his political career by piloting the Waqfal Aulad Bill in the Indian Legislature had a suffcient grasp of the basic principles of Muslim jurisprudence to reconstruct it to suit changing circumstances. He would have known how to curb pseudo-religious political groups for whom religion is mainly as instrument of power seeking. He would have tolerated no factionalism or sectarianism. He appointed talented men in his Cabinet irrespective of their dogmatic differences. He was himself born in a Shia family but he never allowed that label to be put on himself. Nobody ever dared to talk to him on any sectarian basis. He prayed in the congregations of all denominations, observing the rituals of each, considering formalities to be of secondary importance. He stood for the unity of Islam as a preparation and model for the unity of humanity. He was a liberal theist and a liberal democrat and Islam is primarily a liberal theistic democracy, for which one word would be theodemocracy to distinguish it from purely secular or atheistic materialistic democracies, which care for only man's physical well-being and base all morality only on hedonistic utilitarianism.

Iqbal and Jinnah

Iqbal and Jinnah, the seer and the statesman, were enthused with a vision of an Islamic State, a welfare State of free

individuals co-operating in ameliorative activities to secure physical and spiritual well-being grounded in social justice. Nations had to wait for social justice. Nations develop by accualisation of realisable dreams. Where vision fails, nations perish. Pakistan was not created for the hide-bound fanati for the callous lndlord, for the hoarine Cond accumulatin capitalist, there the self-satisfied and self-centred bourgeois, for the dogmatic self-righteous theologian, for the party politician or the industrial magnate converting the sweat and blood of the labourer into gold. The Quaid-i-Azam's motto of Faith, Unity and Discipline, if embodied into personal, social and political life, is the only guarantee of the preservation and development of Pakistan. If people being to think, feel and act in terms of tribes and sects, parties and factions, provinces and districts and in the last resort, in terms of individual selves only, it would be a clear indication that they are living without vision and without faith and God's eternal laws, which are no respecter of persons and self-deluded groups, would operate relentlessly to weaken and annihilate violaters. In moments of despair. I once said to Allama Iqbal that the mental and moral fibre of our nation had been destroyed beyond all hopes of regeneration. The Seer, the Man of Faith, did not share my despondency. He said that the heart of the common man was still sound, but the politico-ecomomic system was such that it generated only corrupt leadership. This nation had to potentialities. The Quaid evolve its too was painfully conscious of inefficient and corrupt leader-ship. He said once that he carried only bad coins in his pocket. But like Iqbal, he had faith in the destiny of Muslims. He blie-ed that this degeneration was a product of unhappy historical accidents and would pass away by the realisation of responsibili-ties and the awakening of the national conscience. Vigilance is the price of liberty. If there is no truth in universal human values, there can be no real unity. Only truth can unite, false-

hood is a principle of division and discord. Discipline means organisation and self-control and harnessing of energies for personal as well as social development. The old patterns of life have been destroyed or are fast crumbling. Some of them were good and others were bad but even the good ones require fresh adaptations. We have to conserve as well as to progress. But the nation has to see clearly as to what is to be preserved and what is to be scrapped.

Change

Old order changeth, yieiding place to new

And God fulfils Himself in many ways

Lest one good custom should-corrupt the world (Tennyson.)

The policy of drift and following the lines of least resistance leads only to stagnation. We require leaders who possess wisdom as well as fortitude. The Quaid-i-Azam set an example of political wisdom, courage and selfless devotion to a righteous cause. Foreign domination encouraged only sycophants and inheritors of wealth accumulated mostly by unfair, dubious and unsocial means. A good many self-seekers belonging to these classes stepped into the seats of power vacated by earlier exploiters. How could degenerates regenerate a nation. If placed in authority, could they be expected to pass self-denying ordinances ? Human beings never relinquish power voluntarily. Such people have the temerity to stand on public platforms to reiterate the motto of Faith, Unity and Discipline, while they lack all the three virtues in private life, as well as public affairs. Who would compel them to search their hearts whether they possess an iota of the integrity and faith of the great leader, who created national opportunities that they are exploiting ? Me are living through revolutionary times and every-where, momentous issues are at stake. The bungling of small men floating on the

waves of opportunity can only make confusion worse confounded. The Quaid-i-Azam warned this new nation against favouritism, nepotism and corruption, but all these evils are rampant in every strata of our national life.

Jinnah had the vision of a theistic Islamic democratic republic. Everyone has to be constantly watchful to see as to how much we have advanced in that direction, or to what extent we have retrogressed. The anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azem should be an occasion of moral stock-taking. Let his integrity and courage be a model for all leadership and every leader must be tested on that standard. The forces of evil seem to be well-entrenched and very resistant. But, remember that the forces against the creation of Pakistan were mighty and colossal and the idea was laughed at and ridiculed by the calculating wiseacres of all nations. Pakistan was considered to be a geographical, ethnical, political and economic absurdity, but a few men of vision led by the great leader converted it into a reality. The feeble-bodied but strong-willed leader overcame all opposition and removed every obstacle. But in comparison with the Jihad-i-Akbar now demanded of the nation that was a Jihad-i-Asghar. The will and vision that created Pakistan can also regenerate it if it is concentrated and put into action. The Pakistan Muslim is by no means lesser than the Turkish or the Egyptian Muslim. If Mustapha Kemal and Naguib could work miracles, the example of the Quaid-i-Azam persistently followed could also create a renaissance. Let us have faith in our destiny and let us continue to hope and to work.

How Quaid-i-Azam Calmed An Indignant East Bengal

by

YEHIA SYED

IMAGINE a very firm and strict but kind and affectionate father dissuading his son from marrying a girl with whom, he feels, his son will not be happy in the years to come. Also imagine the resentment of a youth in love who is stopped from marrying his choice. But a good youth listens to the counsel of his firm but loving father thinking the 'old man' must be right.

That firm and very strict father was Quaid-i-Azam when he visited East Pakistan, for the first and the last time, in March, 1948, only a few months before his death. And the agitated, rebellious youth was the young men of Dacca who were very much excited over getting Bengali recognised as the second language of Pakistan, along with Urdu. By the time Quaid-i-

Azam, on a very rainy afternoon, landed at Tejgaon airport, their excitement and expectations had reached their climax. The youth of Dacca, who lead the rest of East Pakistan youth, were clear in their minds that could they make the Grand Old Man, as Quaid-i-Azam was lovingly known all over East Pakistan, agree to their proposal of making Bengali the second national language of the country nobody else would dare oppose his decision. They knew like everybody else in the country that his words were final irrevocable.

They respected the firm and strict Father of the Nation, and showed the greatest regard and respect to him when he visited their province for the first time after Partition. It rained that day and the Dacca airport had no place to give shelter to the mass of people which had collected to receive their father, leader and saviour. Girls wrapped up in dripping saris stood ungrudgingly to receive the Quaid. The people, to get the best view of their leader, got up on all possible trees and roof-tops. Some trees gave way under the heavy load of the admires of the Quaid. The the Quaid's 'plane was sighted and there was a deafening cheer and uproar welcoming him to East Pakistan.

The magnetic power which Quaid-e-Azam possessed in abundance was demonstrated in the Curzon Hall, where he was to address the University students. He was told that the temper of the students was high and they were determined to shout Quaid-i-Azam down and force him to accept Bengali as the second national language of Pakistan. It was a sight to see how composed the great leader was when he ascended the dais. He was conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the Dacca University the same afternoon. After the investiture ceremony was over, Quaid-i-Azam rose to speak knowing full well that he had to face an excited audience. That realisation made him more firm, more rigid and more resolute to do away

with the the problem for all times to come. His sharp, deep, penetrating eyes were seeing far out into the years to come when this Bengali Urdu questions would assume very unhealthy dimensions, if not nipped in the bud right then. He had full confidence on his following. He realised that if he spoke against Bengali being acceptable as a second State language, his audience, who had warm and fresh blood running through their veins, would resent it. But he at once sensed that the only quick and effective treatment of this hysteria over Bengali and Urdu was a strong dose of shocktherapy. It was a sight to see how the administered,this difficult treatment to the agitated and angry youth of Bengal. Had not the Quaid the affection of a father who wants to tick off his son, he could not have achieved what he really did that day in Dacca at Curzon Hall, addressing hundreds of University students who had come prepared to hoot the Quaid if he did not accept their demand for making Bengali a State language of Pakistan.

In his cold, calculated and crisp voice the Quaid began his historic address at Dacca's Curzon Hall that only a few years ago, it was he who asked the students of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to come out of their colleges, schools and universities and help him achieve Pakistan, a homeland for the oppressed Muslims. Now that the object had been achieved, he again, like a loving father, commanded them to go back to their schools, colleges and universities, for, he said, it would be from you, young men of Pakistan, that future administrators, politicians and leaders of the country will be drawn. This had a visible effect on the agitated students who were anxious to hear what the Father of the Nation had to say about their demand.

CAUTIOUS

Very cautiously and carefully he broached the most burning

problem of the day : Recognition of Bengali as the second State language of Pakistan. He, very dramatically, using all the technique of attracting the audience, which he had learned in London where he staged Shakesperean plays, raised his slender long first finger of his right hand, and placing his left hand on his waist, thundered : "Urdu, and Urdu alone, can be the *lingua franca* of Pakistan." The students, who were anxiously waiting for this opportunity, shouted from the back benches, as the front-rowers were enchanted by his magnetism, No, No......The Quaid stopped speaking. Waiting for a few seconds for the shouts of "no, no, no" to die out, and, again raising his voice and the finger, he again asserted with great emphasis ; "Urdu and Urdu alone shall be the *lingua franca* of Pakistan......" There was no shouts this time Everybody, correc ted, reacted to the shock treatment that Quaid-i-Azam so bluntly applied to the youth. They were dazzled and stunned. When they recovered, Quaid-i-Azam was still talking to them like a firm but very strict father and was advising them to realise their responsibilities in a free country.

Never in the history of Bengal, both East and West combined, could anybody silence any agitated body of students as the great leader did that afternoon in Curzon Hall. Bengal students have been notoriously famous for their agitation and for forcing their decision down the unwilling throats of all those who did not agree with them. The recent example of Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi is only too fresh in human memory to suffer a repetition. But it was only the Great Quaid-i-Azam who could say whatever he liked on their very face. The youth of Bengal that day demonstrated beyond doubt that they respected the Grand Old Man like a father, who did not always approve the rash ideas of young men.

No leader of India or Pakistan could ever get the opportunity to address such a colossal crowd of people in Dacca as

Quaid-i-Azam did in the Race Course 'Maidan' during his stay in East Pakistan. It was a record gathering and the listeners had come from all over the place round Dacca just to have a 'darshan' of the grand Old Man who wrought independence for them within a short span of six years. They did not understand English, the language in which, paradoxically enough, his ideas to 95 percent of the illiterate masses.

Not only that. While the Quaid was speaking to that mammoth gathering at the Dacca Race Course 'Maidan' a whole section of microphones failed. The long line of the listeners who had, in certain cases, travelled for two days to see their leader, could not hear anything their leader was telling them in English. They did not make any noise. They sat silent and waved their hands suggesting to the Quaid that they were not getting a word from him. He spoke for nearly an hour and a half. The loudspeakers in one section of the gathering remained dumb and mute all that period. The listeners in that segment sat quiet. It needed a very magenetic personality, such as the Quaid possessed, to keep the listeners sitting for that long period, without hearing a word of what he was uttering. Such was the Quaid's mesmerism. Very few leaders of men could boast of that.

To give an idea of the huge crowd that had gathered to see the Quaid that day in the Dacca Race Course 'Maidan' I will quote only one line from a Bengali radio commentator. Nazir Ahmad, the Wynford Vaughan Thomas of Radio Pakistan Dacca described the audience, who were dispersing after hearing Quaid-i-Azam, by saying : "I feel as far a huge depth-charger has been thrown in the middle of a surging sea of human hearts, and waves of people are flowing out in all directions." I feel no other radio language could describe better the melting crowd comprising the people who had sat all through the speech of their great leader without understanding a single word.

While talking of Radio Pakistan, I am reminded of an episode which occurred just before Quaid-i-Azam's second nation-wide broadcast, which he made from the improvised studio or Dacca Circuit House, which was renovated for Quaid-i-Azam's stay in East Pakistan. Before actually broadcasting to the nation from Dacca, Captain Ehsan-ul-Huq the Station Director requested the Quaid to give a voice test so that Radio Pakistan engineers could adjust the voice level. The Quaid obliged Ehsan and read out a passage from his talk. While giving the voice test, the great leader fumbled over a phrase. Ehsan was upset, thinking if the Grand Old Man of Pakistan repeated the same mistake over the air he would rob his broadcast of its charm. The Quaid was quick to read Ehsan's reaction. "That was intentional," he said, calming down Ehsan's worry.

When he actually addressed the nation over the radio, he spoke the phrase over which he had fumbled in the rehearsal with great emphasis. He wanted to make the emphasis on that phrase prominent and this was why he had fumbled before. His broadcast technique was very much like that of Winston Churchill.

He emphasised his words and phrases just as Churchill does in his radio broadcasts. He had, therefore the same force while broadcasting as Churchill has ; and he always appealed to the head rather than to the heart. He unlike our present Prime Minister never shouted over the "mike" nor did he used the platform speech mannerisms. He was always saber but effective. His effectiveness resulted from the proper choice of words and phrases which he emphasised. That was the secret of the Quaid's broadcasts.

For the first time in its history, Radio Pakistan, used a mobile transmitter to cover the great leader's activities—all the

time "chasting" him. It was the beginning of mobile transmission in Pakistan.

The Quaid's visit to Chittagong will always be remembered by all Naval officers of Pakistan. While the great leader boarded a RPN ship waiting in the Chittagong harbour, he was piped over board. It is a Naval custom all over the world that every distinguished visitor to a ship is piped. The ratings on duty blow their whistle continuously lor a few minutes and it is blown in chains. For some time the visitor does not hear anything but deafening shrieks of whistles. Quaid-i-Azam was quite perplexed. He asked one of his Naval aides : "Why, what's the matter are they very happy to-day that they're blowing the whistle for so long ?" The Quaid never hesitated to bring in an element of humour into his talks whenever an opportunity was afforded.

In Sylhet people remember with great reverence the occasion where the Grand Old Man of Pakistan said his Juma prayers with them it was a *day* for the people of that little town of East Pakistan. Even to-day with tears tricking dawn his goaty white beard, the *Pesh Imam* of that mosque recounts that memorable Friday in 1948 when he had the honour of having the "Khalifa" of Pakistan among his "Muqtadis."

Quaid-i-Azam's visit to East Pakistan created a deep impression on Bengali literature, the proof of which can, even to-day be found in the streets of Dacca and of other cities of East Pakistan, Bengali lite rature had nothing to offer to the great leader as felicitation songs which could be broadcast in his honour. Overnight songs and poems were written by people like Nazir Ahmad, Fateh Lohani and Farrukh Ahmad. These were composed to music and recorded by Radio Pakistan. Even to-day, street urchins hum the famous song written by Nazir Ahmad "Lau Salaam, Quaid-i-Azam, Lau Salaam". This

song was sung by the top notcher singer of Radio Pakistan. Laila Arjumand Bonu, and it spread through the province in no time. To-day Bengali literature has songs and poems having an Islamic bias to be used for honouring visitors.

When, on September 11, 1948, the news of the great leader's death came over the radio. Dacca was stunned. People were not prepared to believe that the man who was amidst them only some months ago could die, and so suddenly. Soon after they recovered from the stunning blow they closed their shops and forced everbody on cars, cycles, or even rickshaws to walk on foot "to show respect to the greatest benefactor of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah". In spite of the inconveniences the Daccaites co-operated in spirit and action.

Tears trickled down their eyes when they saw on their local cinema screen a documentary film called "Quaid-i-Azam in our midst," which was produced by the East Pakistan Government during the Quaid's visit to Dacca in March that year. The audience got up and clapped when they saw the face of Quaid-i-Azam and shouted full-throatedly :

QUAID-I-AZAM ZINDABAD

Quaid-i-Azam & minorities

by

C.E. GIBBON, M.L.A. PUNJAB

TODAY, five years ago Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah the Father of the Nation, left us for his blestial abode.

It was in the year 1935 that I was introduced to Mr. Mohd Ali Jinnah by the late Sir Henry Gidney the representative of. the Anglo-Indian community in the Indian Legislative Assembly. My first impressions were none too favourable. Mr. Jinnah struck me as being an over dressed gentleman, a moderate politician and a short sighted statesman. These impressions, however, underwent a change as I came to know and understand him better. I have a vivid recollection of a series of conversation which took place between him, Sir Henry Gidney, myself and others in Simla and New Delhi in 1934 and 1939.

The discussion centred round the division of India into two

separate States—Hindusthan and Pakistan. With the exception of Mr. Jinnah himself, none of us were convinced at that time of the possibilities of such a division but, as time went on and the Congress became more communal-minded we began to see that what was considered to be a dream may sooner or later become a reality.

Then came World War II during which period most of us kept aloof from active politics, but maintained our interest in current events. In 1945 when the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League became more acute, we roused ourselves from our political lethargy and began to take a keener interest in the political and economic issues involved. For a a minority like ours, these issue were charged with grave consequences and it required the greatest amount of courage, thought and initiative to decide whether we should take sides or remain neutral. We followed, with keen interest, the Cripps proposals : the discussions with Lord Wavell and took an active part in the investigators made by the Cabint Mission.

At that time the dice, as far as we were concerned, was loaded a favour of the Congress demand for an undivided India. The reasons for his being that, apart from the Lahore Resolution, which I considered to be vague and ambiguous, the Muslim League had not clarified its policy in respect of the treatment of minorities.

In 1946, I was elected a Member of the Indian Constituent Assembly, which gave me an opportunity of studying the Congress attiutude from close quarters. I then became convinced that the demand for Pakistan was genuine and that it would be in the best interests of the Anglo-Indian and Christian minorities who would eventually, have to live in Pakistan, to consider the situation from a more practical point of view.

In April 1947, the late Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha and I

held lengthy conversations with Mr. Jinnah and it was decided that he would make a public announcement in respect of the treatment of the minorities in Pakistan. This he did on May 21, 1947, to Reuter's correspondent, Mr. Doon Campbell, in the form of questions and answers which may well be reproduced below :—

"Q. What are your views in regard to the protection of minorities in Pakistan terrtories ?

"A. There is only one answer. The minorities must be protected and safeguarded. The minorities in Pakistan will be citizens of Pakistan and will enjoy all the rights, privileges and obligations of citizenship without any distinction of caste, creed or sect.

"They will be treated justly and fairly. The Government will run the Administration and control the legislative measures by its Parliament. The collective conscience of Parliament itself will be a guarantee that the minorities need not have any apprehensions of any injustice being done to them.

"Over and above that, there will be provisions for the protection and safeguard of the minorities which in my opinion, must be embodied in the Constitution itself. This will leave no doubt as to the fundamental rights of the citizens, protection of religion and faith of every section, freedom of thought and expression, and protection of their cultural and social life."

Following this, late Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha and I gave the Quaid-i-Azam an assurance that we would publicly stand for Pakistan and in the same month I resigned my seat in the Indian Constituent Assembly.

Both of us gave evidence before the Boundary Commission and also cast our votes in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in

favour of Pakistan. Thereafter, we felt confident that the minorities, particularly the Christian minorfty, would receive fair just and generous treatment and as long as the Quaid-i-Azam lived, we had nothing whatsoever to complain. Shortly after his death, the attitude of the Muslim League towards the Christian minority began to change, resulting in the mass ejectment of Christians from their homes and off the lands which they had been cultivating for generations. This process of economic strangulation of the Christian minority continues unabated and accounts for my opposition to the Muslim League, as it exists to-day.

Numerous representations to the Governor-General, the Prime Ministers the Governors and Chief Ministers of provinces have received little or no response and the Christian community, which looked to the Quaid-i-Azam for the implementation of the assurances given by him, is to-day disillusioned and discontented.

If only we could succeed in convincing the leaders of the Muslim League that the future of Pakistan is linked with the future of its minorities how much happier and contented all of us would be. But, from what I observe, we have to contend with a house divided against itself. The Muslim League of today is completely barren of leadership. It has no policy. It has no programme other than that to create dissension and discord. Its future is as uncertain as the elements and but for the determination of the people of Pakistan to maintain their Independence, I shudder to think what the future has in store for us.

Let us, therefore, on this memorable day make an honest attempt to mend our ways and to follow at the footsteps of the

great Quaid-i-Azam. Let us give practical shape to his motto of Unity, Faith and Discipline and above all, let the minorities feel that they are not strangers in their native land. If all this can be achived by a re-orientation of the party of the Muslim League the future of Pakistan is assured.

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A country without a strong air force was at the mercy of the aggressor said Quaid

by

SQUADRON LEADER M. I, MALIK,
M. S.c., M. R. U. S. I. (LONDON)

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah paid his first visit to any Air Force unit on April 13, 1948. The Unit he chose was significantlty he nursery of our Air Force—The Royal Pakistan Air Force College—an institution which made its debut with his blessings. He was fully conscious of the fact that the Air Force was the weapon of to-day and of tomorrow. The object of his visit was to find out for himself how this arm of our defence was shaping.

"Pakistan must build up strong Air Force," he roared in his characteristic manner laying unusual emphasis on each syllable of his meaningful sentence. He was addressing the officers, officer cadets and the airmen assembled at the airfield and through them the nation. A country without a strong air force is at the mercy of any aggressor, he continued. "Pakistan must build up

her Air Force as quickly as possible. It must take its right place with the Army and the Navy in securing Pakistan's defence. I am well aware of air development in other countries and my Government is determined that the Royal Pakistan Force will not lag behind. Our Force was left with very few assets except loyalty and determination. But the Royal Pakistan Air Force is already taking shape and this School formed only seven months ago, is a worthy example of this. I know you are short of personnel but I understand recruitment is brisk and good material is coming forward.

"But aircraft and personnel in any numbers are of little use unless there is a team spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails. I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self-reliance can the Royal Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan".

That was over five years back the Royal Pakistan Air Force is six years old to-day. It has taken a definite shape and has developed into a first class fighting machine. It can rightfully take its place with the Army and the Navy in securing Pakistan's defence. The cream of our youth has joined up the R. P. A. F, ranks. There is no dearth of good martial material and this virile nation has an inexhaustible reservoir of the finest material that could be trained to master the fastest and the latest aircraft.

HANDICAPS

Lack of adequate training facilities and insufficient training facility been severe handicaps under which our Air Force had to work all these years, but "loyalty and determination"—the two great assets which Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was able to discern at quite an early stage—have enabled the valiant guardians of our skies to build up the R.P.A.F. into a mighty fighting machine. And that too from the scratch. It goes to

the credit of our nation that the Royal Pakistan Air Force. Quaid-i-Azam's pet, has been well looked after. The determination of the Quaid-i-Azam's Government has enabled the R.P.A.F. not to lag behind.

MANDATE

The Quaid-i-Azam's mandate has been kept to the fore and through "discipline and self-reliance" the Royal Pakistan Air Force has become worthy of our country.

Our morale is high, loyalty and determination unflinching our machines are in good trim and our powder dry; we need fear no foe.

[illegible]

"But aircraft and personnel in any numbers are of little use unless there is a team spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails. I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self-reliance can the Royal Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan".

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HANDICAPS

"Lack of adequate training facilities and [illegible] [illegible] been severe conditions under which our Air Force had to work in these years, but "loyalty and determination"—the two great assets which Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was able to discern at that early stage—have enabled the [illegible] members of the Force to build on the R.P.A.F. into a [illegible] fighting machine. And that has been their [illegible]. It goes to

With Quaid-i-Azam in the Khyber

by

N. H. HASHMEY

On their day, in December, 1876, was born a Man, (not in Persia, Macedonia, Central Asia, Arabia or Afghanistan, but) in Karachi, who, 76 years later, was to belie the traditions of the historic Khyber Pass by travesting it from the "wrong" end, sans charger, sans sword, sans shield, as the world's most Original "conqueror".

On the 14th of April, the inexorably vain hills of the historic Khyber Pass, long used to the tramp of panoplied warriors witnessed the Man who had successfully by-passed them to found the world's largest Islamic State.

For the first time since Darius (5th Century B.C.), the pride of the haughty Khyber Hills had been hurt.

"Imagine a state-founder coming to us in the reverse, East to West direction. They had been going West-East to Delhi, alongside our slopes for centuries. We had all along been considered indispensable in state-founding. We must see the Man who has made history by ignoring the historical gateway that we constitute," mused and wished the Khyber Hills for over eight months, i.e. since the establishment of Pakistan.

And when the Man appeared at the "wrong" end,—at Jamrud—on the 14th of April, 1948, the Pass gaped in wonder. It saw a Man come in as no Muslim State founder had ever appeared.

A stream-lined limousine had majestically rolled in at its mouth JAMRUD to reveal a similing tall, thin [Man dressed in a Saville Row cut, grey, striped lounge suit. "So, this is the Man who has beaten us," gasped the Khyber Hills.

From Jamrud began the historic Up the-Khyber "March" of the world's most unorthodox state founder.

An interesting feature of this historic visit to the Khyber Pass was that the Quaid-e-Azam was accompanied by the last British Political Agent of Khyber (Col. Bacon), the last British Governor of the Frontier Province (Sir, Ambrose Dundos), the last British Commander of the Frontier Corps (Brigadier Williams), and the first would-be Pakistani Governor of the Frontier Province, (the late Col. Sahibzada Khurshid, who was then Political Resident on the N. W. Frontier), not to speak of the last Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar in undivided India, Col. A.S.B. Shah, who had just joined the Centre.

KHYBER PASS

A host of history-makers have invoked the snug protection of the Khyber Pass during the last two thousand, years, or more —Kings and conquerors, saints and divines, empire builders and

kingdom-demolishers—all had been coming and going on diverse missions, and the cumulative effect of these visits was that Khyber came to be called the world's most historic Pass. No, other Pass in the world has retained so many historical associations as this gateway through which have passed the armies of the Persians, Greeks, Tartars, Mongols and the Afghans.

Some would ride or stride across to conquer Hind, some would use it as a convenient escape route, both ways. Conquerors like Shahabuddin Ghori-and Ahmad Shah Abdali would storm through it, a second time, to punish the "cheeky" Rajputs or Marathas. Some of the closest disciples of Lord Buddha would come to the Khyber to preach peace and non-violence, truth and righteousness. An Asoka would come to perpetuate these teachings and to extend his domain via the Pass to Afghanistan.

Centuries later, an admirer of Lord Buddha (if you do not mind his "non-violence" in Junagarh, Hyderabad, and Kashmir), and, an imitator of Asoka, would come to see if the latters "Chakra" could whirl in the Pass too. Unfortunately for him, the Khyber, this time, would make the "Chakra" whirl in the reverse motion, incidentally, (or accidentally ?) to bring plenty of 'dough' to the lucky Yank who took "shots" of a life time, at considerable personal risk.

HISTORIC DATE

Then came the visit which was to eclipse all previous ones.

It was a beautiful spring day—the 14th of April. The date was historic for it was on this day, nine months earlier, that Pakistan had "banged" on the world map.

Spring charms and warms hearts wherever it is preceded by winter. But the Frontier, perhaps, is the only Province of Pakistan where it literally throws one into ecstasy.

Quaid-i-Azam drove up the Khyber when the spring aroma

was the thickest. The normally barren crags of the Khyber, at this time of year, make a bold attempt to put on a green garb. Tiny, wild flowers - white, yellow and crimson,—perched on supple stems, sway with the soft breeze, on the slopes right through the Pass.

It was one of the finest spring days. I have been through the Khyber a hundred times but without exaggeration from the point of view of weather, it was my best day in the Pass.

The build-up of the patchy, thin, low, argentine clouds, that afternoon, the exhilarating breeze which retained the nip of a fast-fading winter, to admix it with the newly-acquired warmth of a mellow son that had just shaken off its cold sleep, constituted an ideal setting for the historic visit.

A few minutes before Quaid-i-Azam arrived at Jamrud, came down a sharp vernal shower making the ground fragrantly loamy.

An excited crowd of armed tribesmen, several hundred strong, stood speechless in the sharp drizzle, with their gaze fixed at the shimmering, winding road that stretched beyond Islamia College.

JAMRUD FORT

On top of the Jamrud Fort fluttered the Pakistan Flag. A huge carpet-covered ceremonial arch, hung with a large portrait of Quaid-i-Azam, stood at the entrance of the Pass.

On the level piece of ground at the right were arrayed a dozen pieces of aitillery made or captured by the tribesmen.

Col. Bacon, (the last of the British Political Agents), ran to and fro, in the drizzle, instructing this man and that to ensure that the tribesmen did not get "uncontrollable" at the sight of the Man. With 20 years service among the tribesmen, he knew how "frenziedly" they vied with eash other in welcoming a

great man. He would also run to the telephone to find out of in view of the drizzle, Government House, Peshawar, proposed a change.

Exactly five minutes before 4 p.m. the Khyber Rifles men, standing on the "bridge" of Jamrud Fort (which looks like a battleship from a distance) espied a caravan of cars near the Islamia College.

They frantically beckoned to the crowds below shouting "Ragho", meaning, there he comes.

A hush fell upon the heaving throng, which became all eyes.

The car, carrying the Man, rolled slowly in. Col. Bacon sprinted to open the door and out came the Man, smiling and beaming.

The mammoth crowd, as if shivered, and up went a spontaneous cry of Allah-o-Akbar that seemed to tear the sky to pieces.

An old venerable Afridi, then one of the oldest living men in the world, 134,—since dead—told me that he had heard such a cry only once before, as a young man, about a century ago, when the Khyber Pathans charged the Sikh army under General Hari Singh Nalwa, at the same spot, to smash it neck and crop. The Sikh general was killed in action.

The full-throated cries of Allah-o-Akbar, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad and Pakistan Paendabad had hardly subsided when hundreds of volleys, from all manner of firearms, went up to stap the space. Old men, with flowing white beards and heroes of many a battle, vied with the youngsters to fire into the air at least a dozen rounds to greet the distinguished guest.

Quaid-i-Azam stood smiling in the din. As it quietened down, the top-notch Maliks elders and divines of the Khyber

Agency, came forward, one by one, kiss his hands and to garland him. The garlands, woven from the best of the suring roses, came thick and fast, and the Quaid-i-Azam's A.D.C's for the next 10 minutes, were busy preventing his face from being completely hidden.

After being introduced to Quaid-i-Azam one by one, the Maliks offered him a dozen, fattrams which he touched in token of acceptance.

The war of Liberation in Kashmir was at its peak in those days.

Said the No. 1 Malik, "all our minds are constantly turned to Kashmir. We request you to declare a general Jihad, for what use is our freedom if our Kashmiri brethren remain enslaved".

Quaid-i-Azam was interpreted as repeating his valued advice. 'Remain united, have faith in the ultimate triumph of the righteous cause. I am proud of you. The Islamic world is proud of you".

In the meantime, Quaid-i-Azam's car was being turned into "a mountain of flowers".

Before he got back into it, the Maliks requested him to see some pieces of artillery that "we have either made ourselves, or captured from the enemy."

A dozen of them, of varying calibre, with a "Big Bertha," in the centre, monopolished Quaid-i-Azam's attention for about 15 minutes.

A Yankee newsman got "terribly" interested in the guns. He wanted to do up a special story. He quickly took a few photographs and then seated himself under the muzzle of a gun to take notes. The tribal artillery men, now, had decided to fire

a salute. While the Yank was busy, the guns were being "loaded". Suddenly, the one next to him "let go one" which sent the Yank sprawling on the ground. He was safe but completely dazed. His camera and hat had torn themselves from his person Flabbergasted, he stood behind the battery which was still firing. Meanwhile, Quaid-i-Azam's caravan got on the move, and the Yank realising suddenly that he might be left high and dry, quickly collected his hat and camera and made a dash for one of the Press cars.

The tribesmen had engaged several lorries to enable them to join the mobile caravan.

A caravan of about 50 cars and 20 loories and wagons, headed by a mobile mountain of flowers, was rolling across to the other end.

Tribesmen lying doggo on prominent hilltops would fire a solitary shot into the air to inform the villages or hamlets ahead, of the approach of the caravan. Immediately, a cloud of dust would envelop the yonder hills. The villagers would fire large lumps of dynamite to welcome their distinguished guest.

Overhead wheeled majestically large King eagles, frightened by explosions and rifle fire. The strange thing about the flight of the Khyber eagles, that day, was that they composedly kept strictly to the highway and right over the caravan. It was an unforgettably inspiring sight.

A few miles this side of Landi Kotal, a large gathering of tribesmen, headed by Maliks and Ulema, stopped the caravan and Quaid-i-Azam got out to meet them.

CHOKED WITH EMOTION

One of the Maliks, just back from Kashmir, found himself choked with emotion, while shaking hands with Quaid-i-Azam. He wanted to say something but his words could find no articu-

lation. His lips quivered. He was obviously making a grand effort to speak. Quaid-i-Azam watched him for quite a few seconds, while their hands were still elasped. Finally Quaid-i-Azam turned to the late Col. Sahibzada Khurshid and said, "Please tell him I have understood him. He is quite eloquent."

As the late Col. Khurshid translated it into Pushtu, the Malik shook himself, as if he had found words, and suddenly stretching both of his hands upwards into the space he shouted, "Quaid-I-Azam Zindabad", and the whole crowd joined him. Visibly moved, Quaid-i-Azam got back into his car, and we could hear the cries of Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad echo and re-echo in the hilly hollows for about a mile.

Climbing up the Landi Kotal plateau, the Shinwaris, several hundred strong, stopped the caravan just at the point where about two years earlier, they, had (differently) stopped Pandit Nehru.

Quaid-i-Azam's car stood under beautiful tapestried ceremonial archway, over which fluttered the Crescent and Star under the wheels were thick layers of expensive rugs.

As Quaid-i-Azam emerged out of the car, a cascade of flowes came down and within a few seconds, the road, the cars and the best part of the crowd, found themselves strewn with petals and thsigh shaded a maddening arir.

GONE MAD WITH JOY

Said the red-complexioned stocky, bandoliered Shinwari malik, "Qaid-e-Azam, it was exactly here that we had "received" Pandit Nehru. I am 70 now and to-day is the greatest day in my life. May you live till "Qayamat." Just see the people around you. They have gone mad with joy".

As the grand old Malik was talking to Quaid-i-Azam, the Landi Kotal hills were resounding to the din of rapid volleys one rifle shots and cries of Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad.

Instantly, a man appeared with a large brown bread, with one diameter of about a yard and four inches thick. It had been baked on a stone plate (towards and was soft as butter. Quaid-i-Azam smilingly tore a bit of itself and tasted it, before passing it on to his sister, who was intently and affectionately watching the scene.

AT THE IRON CHAIN

At the Pak-Afghan border, at Torkham, Quaid-i-Azam stopped about 12 feet this side of the Iron Chain. His sister stood alongside him. His gaze rested for a few seconds on the large border sign-post bearing the words "The Frontier of Pakistan". Then his face swung to the rifled Afghan sentry standing close to the Chain.

A large number of Afghan nationals, including customs and passport officials, had collected on the other side.

Quaid-e-Azam raised his hand to greet them. They bowed, placed their hands on the chest and salamed.

Quaid-e-Azam was still 12 feet this side of the Chain. The Afghans were gradually coming closer.

Quaid-e-Azam was talking to his sister in Gujrati in a low tone.

Suddenly he became silent and fixed his gaze at the hills opposite.

There he stood still for whole five minutes watching the tall mountains in the front and the road that wound into Afghanistan.

As Quaid-e-Azam stood stiff erect and thoughtful, as if in a reverie, I studied his face and eyes.

What was he thinking ? I asked myself.

May be, this apostle of Islamic unity, this champion of Isla-

mic Renaissance was visualising the breaking of the artificial barrier,—the Iron Chain,—that divided the two Muslim neighbours. May be, he was "dreaming" of extending the Khyber Railway right upto Ankara via Afghanistan. May be, he was picturing to himself he creation of a unified Islamic Military Command a uniform foreign policy, a communications system that would embrace the entire Islamic world.

All manner of guesses invaded my mind during those five minutes that Quaid-i-Azam spent in gazing across into Afghanistan.

GREETS AFGHAN SENTRY

Suddenly his countenance shone. As if overwhelmed by the pressure of mental pictures, he strode quickly towards the Iron Chain and threw his right hand across it to give a warm handshake to the Afghan sentry, who bowed and clasped it firmly. Up went a cry, "Islamic unity Paindabad".

The Afghans, who had been standing about a yard from the Chain, now moved abreast towards Quaid-i-Azam and vied with each other in grasping his hand.

It was a moving scene.

Quaid-e-Azam now turned to the late Col. Sahibzada Khurshid and said, "Please ask the Afghan Sentry how he feels about Pakistan".

The late Col. translated it into Persian and the Afghan Sentry replied "God be praised" (Al-Hamdo-Lillah)—"An Islamic State has come into being. We are all Muslims. We are all very happy".

Quaid-i-Azam smiled broadly and said, "May God bless you. May God bless all Muslims. Assalam-o-Alaikum.

And he raised his hand to his forehead to bid farewell to his Afghan breathren who bowed and said in unison "Ba Aman-ę-Khuda".

Quaid-i-Azam turned about walked slowly to his car, to return to Peshawar.

Historically speaking, he was now travelling in the right direction i. e. West to East, no as a sword-wielder, not at the head of an invading army, out as the most original State-founder the world had ever seen.

(*Civil & Military Gazette*
25th December, *1952*)

Pathans knew Jinnah as their leader

by

A. R. SIDDIQI

In the history of the North West Frontier, after the establishment of Pakistan. April 11, 1948, will always go down as a red letter day for that was the day when Quaid-i-Azam arrived in in Peshawar on his first and last visit to the land of the Pathans.

It was at 3 o'clock in the afternoon when the silvery Vicker's Viking carrying the Quaid-i-Azam touched the Peshawar airport. A milling crowd, which had assembled at the airport, scanned the sky with eyes full of eagerness.

As the aircraft rose from behind the barren hills surrounding the airport, and its first distant roars were heard the vast

crowd broke, quite irresistibly, into fullthroated shouts of "Quaid-i-Azam zindabad," and "Pakistan zindabad".

The huge Viking circled over the airport preparing to make a safe landing which it soon did and with that a hush fell all over the place, so much so that you could easily hear the heart-beats of the person standing next to you.

The quiet of the atmosphere was broken by the Lands aircraft. All eyes were fixed at the gangway which was soon opened. Dressed in a light brown sherwani, the maker of Pakistan stepped out of the aircraft. He looked gaunt but firm and his face shone with that mysterious light which emanates only from the soul of one full of a sense of achievement.

FIRST GLIMPSE

At the first glimpse of their leader, a whisper or something more akin to a sigh of relief went round the vast assemblage. And then, suddenly, everybody burst forth into spirited shouts of "..................................Zindabad" which must have been heard all over the town. In spite of the enormous excitement, the crowd showed such orderliness as indeed, rarely characterises people dominated by common passions. They appreciated Quaid-i-Azam's liking for strict discipline and orderliness in every sphere of national life and showed full respect for it.

Later, at Islamia College, Peshawar, a student, swayed by his zeal to have a close view of the Quaid broke the queue and came in for a sharp reproach from the Quaid. "Queue up if you want to see me," the Quaid said to the overzealous student who began to sweat at the fatherly but severe reprimand of the leader.

From the airport to Government House, where the Quaid stayed, there were, on both sides of the road, rows of people

shouting their favourite slogans. The housetops were dotted with heads of women and children showering flowers on the Quaid's open car. Chubby Pathan boys lined the roads holding small Pakistan flags which they frantically waved as the Quaid's car drove past them. The city of Peshawar had been bedecked with bunting and festoons like a fantastic landscape in a colourful painting of some utopian island.

PROGRAMME

A top-heavy programme awaited Quaid-i-Azam during his 11 day stay in the Frontier Province. Among the places he visited were the historic Khyber Pass, Bunnu, Dera Ismail Khan, Risalpur and Nowshera. In addition, he attended a round of official and public functions and made a number of speeches each involving important policy matters.

Behind the scenes, the leader grappled with many a knotty and confounding problem threatening the stability—in fact, the very constitutional existence—of the NWFP. The strain was enormous, but the ageing leader bore it with almost superhuman stamina.

The main problem confronting the Frontier Province at that stage was the situation caused by the activities of Red Shirt and Khudai Khidmatgar organisations which in spite of massdesertions from their rank and file, were still sufficiently strong under the leadership of the Khan Brothers. They clamoured for more autonomous province - thus playing quite unwittingly, perhaps into the hands of certain enemies of Pakistan who had sedulously conjured up the Pakhtoonistan stunt with the intention of wrecking Pakistan in its very infancy.

Complete unity being the most essential pre-requisite to the very existence of Pakistan at that stage when it was still writhing with the birth pangs, the Quaid-i-Azam, in spite of his wellknown

principle of "no compromise on fundamental issues" sought rapprochement with Red Shirts and Khudai Khidmatgars. He held several meetings in camera with the Khan Brothers but each of them proved abortive. Khan remained adamant in spite of the reported approval of his brother Dr. Khan Sahib for a League-Red Shirt merger on the lines suggested by Quaid-i-Azam.

The political tete-a-tete, however, resulted in the desertions of several diehard Red Shirts from their party. They were not convinced of the soundness of the stand of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who prevented him from joining hands with the Muslim League in spite of Quaid-i-Azam's assurances. Among them were Mian Jaffar Shah--at present the Frontier Education Minister—who was reckoned Khan Ghaffar Khan's right-hand man.

The unsuccessful talks, thus, proved a potential success for the Quaid and the Muslim League. They exposed the intensions of those who had been begetting the Pathan masses or spreading blatant untruth of the evil designs of the national Government leadership against the freedom of the Pathan masses.

VERY CLEAR

One thing became very clear and that was, that if the Red Shirt and Khudai Khidmatgar Organisations found it impossible to work in unison with the largest political party in the country, it was because of the short-sightedness and intransigence of their own leaders. No illusions were left about the ends and objectives of the two parties. Also the Pakhtoonistan stunt, with which the leaders of the two organisations, often if not always, used to whip up the ardour of their supporters, was nipped in the bud.

IMPOSSIBLE

It looked apparently impossible if the Quaid once entangled

in the tortuous political negotiations (not all of which were included in the programme) would find out enough time to carry out his numerous public engagements. But not one of the engagements was dropped off the programme.

In Peshawar the Quaid-i-Azam, besides attending a number of official and public functions took the salute at the ceremonial parade of a Punjab Regiment lasting for well over two hours. Those who were present at the parade would still remember the lean figure of Quaid-i-Azam standing erect at the saluting base.

His speech outside the Peshawar city in the vicinity of the Balahasar Fort would go down as an illuminating document in our political history. With great precision and brevity always the hailmark of his speeches—he analysed the political situation in Pakistan with particular reference to the NWFP and exposed the designs of those who were out to undo Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam spoke extempore in English which not more than one per cent of the people in the vast concourse understood. But there was such a complete silence that one could almost hear a pin drop. Later, the then Frontier Chief Minister, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan translate the gist of the speech into Pushto amid loud applause.

The Quaid-i-Azam also addressed a representative tribal Jirga at the Government House and promised the tribeesmen a fair deal the tribal Maliks took oaths of loyalty on behalf of their respective tribes and promised full support and loyalty to the Government.

During his flying visits to the two southern districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, Quaid-i-Azam was given such an ovation as, considering their size and population, even surpassed the Peshawar show on the day of his arrival. There was so much enthusiasm and excitement that could only be described in supe latives.

Thousands of tribesmen from the surrounding tribal territory came to have a glimpse of their leader. Quaid-i-Azam met the members of the minority communities and assured them the fullest protection and equal rights in all spheres of life in the country.

STRENUOUS

The most strenuous day of Quaid-i-Azam's Frontier sojourn was perhaps when he flew to Risalpur and from there motored down to Nowshera and back to Risalpur. In a short space of five to six hours he made three speeches, took salute at a big parade of the Pakistan Army Armoured Corps and presided over the ceremony at which the then Air Force School at Risalpur was upgraded to the status of a college.

STRAIN

Quaid-i-Azam looked really tired that day. In fact, everybody in the party felt equally on even more tired. The weather had sufficiently warmed up making everyone feel more exhausted than perhaps one normally would. But while others could at least stretch their legs for a while, while watching things, the Quaid was all the time exposed to the maximum of strain being the central figure in every event. The pressure was indeed too much ; but his voice never, for a moment, wavered nor betrayed any weakness during the course of His speeches. His characteristic vigour was there in whatever he said or did. But he did look tired more than ever.

On our side of the border just then a defending chorus of "Pakistan zindabad", "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad" in which the voice of the Afghan sent could be distincty heard.

(*Civil & Military Gazette*,
Sept., 11, 1953)

QUAID-I-AZAM ALIVE EVEN TODAY

By

KHAWAJA NAZIM-UD-DIN

Governor-General of Pakistan

A year ago, on this very day, the Quaid-i-Azam was removed from us......but a great man lives even after his death. Quaid-i-Azam is alive even today in the true sense of the word. Quaid-i-Azam will live as long as Pakistan lives.

We are proud that the Quaid-i-Azam belonged to our nation and that a great achievement—which has no parallel in history—was accomplished through the efforts of the illustrous leader of our nation.

Under Quaid-i-Azam's guidance, the work of centuries was completed in a few years. He succeeded in welding the Muslims into one nation and, as a result of this, the Almighty bestowed upon us the great boon of Pakistan. It is through the efforts of this hero, who departed from us a year ago, that today, we are leading a free life in Pakistan.

OUR DUTY

The birth of Pakistan forms a golden Chapter in the history of the world, and it befits us to make this chapter still more glorious by strengthening the foundations of Pakistan. The task of building up Pakistan is no doubt a difficult one, but not impossible for our nation, provided we are inspired by the qualities of the Quaid-i-Azam. These qualities are as essential

to-day for the building up of Pakistan as they were when Pakistan was created.

To-day every country in the world is confronted with big problems, Pakistan has also to face many grave issues. We need faith and perseverance to overcome our difficulties. If we follow these virtues we will surmount all obstacles.

This is no time for putting forward demands. This is the time to keep our ideal high and to subordinate personal interest to national ends. We should pledge ourselves once again to follow in the footsteps of the Quaid-i-Azam.

The greatest homage that we can pay to the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam, is to closely study his life and try to attain the level of integrity and courage which were such marked attributes of the Quaid-i-Azam's life and career.

Quaid-i-Azam's iron determination and great devotion to duty should serve as a guide to us. These were the qualities which enabled the Quaid-i-Azam to carry us through trials and tribulations, to victory and triumph.

It is our duty—and here I especially appeal the youth of my country—to serve the nation with the same steadfastness and devotion as done by Quaid-i-Azam.

We can pay real homage to the memory of Quaid-i-Azam my following his great and noble example and living up to his essage of "Unity, faith and discipline."

Civil and Militry Gazette,

Sept. 13, 1949)

BUSING QUAID-I-AZAM A CRIME

By

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Prime Minister of Pakistan

Addressing a 50,000 strong public meeting on the first death anniversary of the Father of the Nation, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan warned those who had, and were, using abusive language for the Quaid-i-Azam, that they would not be left to public condemnation, but would be sternly dealt with by the Government. He declared that abusing the Quaid-i-Azam would be considered by his Government [a crime as big as sabotaging the State of Pakistan.

So long as that magnificent and great achievement of the Quaid—Pakistan—existed on the globe, he was every instant not only with Pakistanis but with the whole Islamic world.

Every one admitted that Pakistan, the 20th century miracle was the result of one man's courage, foresight and earnestness, and that man was the beloved Quaide-i-Azam.

We always raise slogans wishing long life to the Quaid-i-Azam. This sologan does not really wish long life to the man who has physically died. When we raise this slogan, we mean that all the virtues with which the Quaid-i-Azam was endowed, and which were the cause of the establishment of the great Islamic state ; may live long.

You have not done your duty when you shout "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad". The one and the only way of doing your

duty by the memory of our beloved leader is to inculcate in yourselves all the virtues that made the Quaid-i-Azam great, and to put into practice the lesson he has tought us.

If you want to make Pakistan really strong, and wish to see it the great and powerful country of the Quaid-i-Azam's dreams, you must fight against and eradicate these evils.

Even today there are persons in Pakistan who, knowing it full well that it is the result of one man's courage and efforts that 80 crores of Muslims sleep fearlessly in Pakistan, use abusive languages for that one man, the Quaid-i-Azam.

So Long as I am in office, I declare, I will consider abusing the Quaid-i-Azam as big a crime as working for the ruin and destruction of Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam's lesson was unity, faith and discipline. Are we really acting on this lesson ?

The Quaid-i-Azam used to say that the nation which was not disciplined, did not survive. We are no more a mob, we are a great nation. We must be also disciplined.

Unfortunately our nation has not the patience of the architect of Pakistan. We want Pakistan to become overnight a country as great as Russia or America.

On the occasion of the first Independence Annivessary of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam had said that nature had given you everything. Now it was up to you to utilise the endowments of nature and see that Pakistan attains its full stature. We should not rest contended with the slogans that we are the fifth largest state, and the largest Muslim State of the world. We should strive to be able to say one day that we are one of the greatest

nations of the world. Only then we can claim, fulfilment of the Quaid-i-Azam's mission, which was not only to establish Pakistan, but also to regain the lost prestige and glory of Islam.

(Civil and Military Gazette,

Sept. 13, 1949)

THE QUAID HAS LEFT US A GREAT HERITAGE

By

SIRDAR ABDUR RAB NISHTAR

Although the Quaid is no more in our midst, he has left us a great heritage and sacred trust, which it is our bounden duty to guard and guard jealously. In its stability and strength lies our future prosperity and greatness.

May God give us power to make our country great.

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

QUAID-I-AZAM IS A MUSLIM FOR ALL THE MUSLIMS

On the 19th of June, 1947, the Premier, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayat Ullah in a statement referred to a report that eight Maliks of independent tribal territory, five Afridis and three Mohammads—had issued a statement warning Mr. Jinnah not to visit their territory as they considered that shias were enemies of Islam and said :

"The ignorance of religion displayed by these people is pitiable. Islam teaches universal brotherhood. Our Quaid-i-Azam is a Muslim for all Muslims throughout the country and there is no question of his belonging to one sect or another. These misguided people are very ill advised to re-start at this time of day the foolish and discredited stunt of mediaval times which only resulted in dividing the Muslims.

"We all owe deep debt of gratitude to our Quaid-i-Azam for the great and good work he has done is uniting all Muslims throughout the country whether they are Sunnis. Whabis or members of any other sect and bringing all of us on a common platform. The signal service of our revered leader to our entire community must not be discredited or impaired in the slightest degree. Every muslim throughout the country acknowledges our Quaid-i-Azam as a true Muslim and reveres him as one of the most shining ornaments of our creed. We all think of him as a Muslim and in no other terms."—API.

(*From The Eastern Times*

20 June 1947)

IT IS THE DUTY OF ALL OF US TO STAND UNITED

By

MIAN ABDUL BARI

President, West Punjab Muslim League.

"It is the duty of all of us to stand united and make the same concerted effort with which, under the Quaid-i-Azam's inspiring leadership, we achieved Pakistan."

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

QUAID HAS LEFT US A GREAT LEGACY

By

MIAM JAFFAR SHAH

Education Minister, N.W.F.P.

The Quaid-i-Azam has bequeathed to us not a great country, but great principles and a code of life. We must prove ourselves worth heirs.

We are observing September 11 with great solemnity. On this day—the Father of our nation passed away. His life mission had been fulfilled and he had seen with his own eyes a new country, fifth largest in the worlds come into existence. His task done, his last un-forgettable words to us were to build up the State as well as quickly as we can.

The Quaid-i-Azam had a special love for Pakistan. As late as 1939 when the idea of Pakistan had not taken shape and when the Frontier leaders had shouldered him away in Bombay, he made his will leaving one third of the income of his property to the Islamia College, Peshawar, the premier educational centre of Pathans.

(*Civil & Military Gazette,*

Sept, 11, 1949)

THE "QUAID'S MEMORIAL MESSAGE OF "UNITY, FAITH & DISCIPLINE" WOULD BE AN INSPIRATION OF PROGRESS

By

SYED MIRAN MOHAMMAD SHAH

Revenue Minister, Sind

While paying glowing tributes to the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam, Syed Miran said. "Unless we follow the message and principles of the father of the nation, the nation cannot go ahead with greater success.

The Quaid-i-Azam's memorial message of "unity, faith and discipline,' would be an inspiration of progress and act in galvanising the people to realise their duties.

(*Civil & Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

THE CREATION OF PAKISTAN HAD RAISED HOPES OF THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC GLORY

By

MR. ALLOVLEA PASHA

Egyptian Ambassador in Pakistan

"The creation of Pakistan had raised hopes of the revival of Islamic glory in the Muslim world, and unless the people proved true to the teactings and ideals of the Quaid-i-Azam, they would not only fail Pakistan, but also disappoint millions of their brothers outside the frontiers of their State."

(*Civil & Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

MAKER OF PAKISTAN

Dato Onn Bin Jaffar, Prime Minister of Johore State and a well-known Malay leader, on September 12, 1949, paid a tribute to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as the Maker of Pakistan and a great Muslim leader and patriot.

Dato Onn Bin Jaffar said that Pakistan, even in its present early days, was drawing to itself the attention of all Muslims of the world and in the fullness of time it would be the leading Muslim State in the world.

(*Civil & Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

QUAID-I-AZAM IS THE HEAD OF THE MUSLIM STATE OF PAKISTAN (MAULANA SHABBIR AHMAD USMANI'S TRIBUTE TO QUAID-I-AZAM)

Sheikh-ul-Hind, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam and Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly in a statement said :

"By the grace of the Almighty, Pakistan is established and the seemingly impossible has been achieved. No words can express our thankfulness and gratitude to him. The Millat is also thankful to the Quaid-i-Azam, through whose ceaseless trails and farsightedness, the Millat has reached the much aspired goal."

He stated : "For this unprecedented and glorious achievement we most sincerely congratulate the Quaid-i-Azam. At the same time I would like to make it clear that the Quaid-i-Azam owes his success, to a great deal to the Muslim public opinion."

He said : "The Muslim temperement is essentially religious. The very foundations of the Muslim nationhood stand on religion. It would not have been possible for the Quaid-i-Azam or any other leader, of whatever merit, calibre and personality, or even for the Muslim League, so as a purely political organization, to warm the Muslim blood. If the Ulemas had not come out in time and gave a religious colour to the movement.

"However, the joint struggle of the Ulema and the leaders,

uscceeded in awakening the Muslims and forgingi a united front for an ideal worth fighting for. From begging for rights and safeguards, which they had been doing all the time, they were made conscious to be the masters of their destinies.

"First of all, the Muslims of the minority provinces jumped into the fire and staked their lives, property, honour and everything that they possessed and sacrificed everything dear to them and paved the way to Pakistan.

"Revelling in the glories of freedom to-day, we should not forget those blessed souls. It would be an act of highest treachery; if intoxicated with victory and its glory, we forget the sacrifices of the Mujahids to whom we owe this success.

Provincialism

It is strange and regrettable that to-day sitting in the Capital of Pakistan we hear of provincialism. This heretic slogan must be quelled instantly. If these idols of limited and narrow nationalism are not broken to pieces, the foundations of Pakistan will be shaken in the very first stage.

"It is necessary to concentrate all our energies in framing the constitution of Pakistan strictly on the natural and universal principles of Islam. This alone is the remedy to all such heretic traditions and prejudices or else the democracy of the West will creep in along with its evil associations and destructive nationalism instead of Islamic universalism.

'The two nation theory was not and 'ad hoc' policy. This an established truth. It can never be altered. It is based purely on the fundamental principles of the Holy Quran and Hadith, which can neither he charged not altered. The Muslims and other nations, living in one country and following their own precepts of religion and codes of life can, by mutual cooperation generate the useful team which will generate run the

machinery or peaceful administration in the country without any fear or danger.

Co-Operation

"Islam enjoins upon us to co-operate with other nations, and the history of Islam is a living proof of it. They always said that a Muslim is a Muslim always and everywhere. He is a Muslim in his house, a Muslim outside, a Muslim in the Jama Masjid, a Muslim in the Assembly Hall, a Muslim on the Musalla and a Muslim on the Governor's chair. The distinguishing feature of Islam is that a Muslim has got to remain a Muslim in every sphere of life. Both his individual and collective life are linked together. In spite of it Muslims always treated the non-Muslims in such a generous way that it will be futile to search for a parallel in the history of any other nation.

"Therefore, I wish that a Muslim in all circumstances, however adverse they may be must continue to remain a Muslim and a Hindu, a Hindu. The Islamic State will protect his life, property as well as the places of worship in precisely the same manner as it protects the life, property and places of worship of the Muslims, provided he is a loyal citizen.

"I wish to say to the Muslims always keep in mind the principles of Islamic brotherhood and strive to strengthen its ties and remember the waillings of the victimized and distressed woman and children who gave their lives for the sacred cause of Islam. Get rid of the narrow provincialism."

Questions about the validity of the inclusion of Quaid-i-Azam's name in the Khutbas in an interview to "Dawn" the Sheikhul-Hind said that the tradition dated back from the time of the Umaiyads. The Abbasides were more particular about the inclusion of the name of the Caliphs. According to him the

name will automatically came in if the Khutba was properly delivered and the spirit of the institution was maintained.' "And undoubtedly," he added, "the Quaid-i-Azam is the head of the Muslim State of Pakistan."

From The Eastern Times

27 September, 1947)

FOUNDER-ARCHITECT OF PAKISTAN

by

JAMEELUZ ZAMAN

This day last year the world lost one of its greatest statesmen and Pakistanis the revered man who had created their State. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 71-year-old founder-architect of Pakistan, passed away 13 months after the fruition of his strenuous struggle for the establishment of the largest Muslim State.

Endowed with a forceful character, selflessness, steadfastness supreme self-confidence and an indomitable will, the physically frail, tall and immaculate Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a farsighted, fearless advocate of the Muslim cause in India and turned a 25 percent neglected and backward minority into a united and assertive nation of 100,000,000 Mussalmans.

Muslims in India—conquerors and converts both—were welded into a homogenous society which resisted the strong absorptive qualities of Hinduism and preserved their religious, cultural and social entity through the centuries. Even after the collapse of the Moghuls, Muslim intellectuals like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Maulana Hali, Akbar Allahabadi and Allama Iqbal continued to reflect the inner urge for Muslim renaissance. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the man of destiny, canalised this seething urge towards the attainment of Pakistan—a homeland of 80,000,000 people where this renaissance is destined to take place.

As the world well knows when the sub-continent of India

was partitioned Pakistan was flooded with several lakhs of refugees from India ; its economy received severe blows due to the exodus of non-Muslims ; soon afterwards Kashmir—the source of Pakistan's timber, rivers, canals and electricity—was occupied by India troops. Many pessimists feared that Pakistan would collapse, but the ceaseless work of consolidation by the magnetic Governor-General enthused and inspired his people to wholeheartedly build a new State right from scratch.

On this sad anniversary of the greatest Muslim patriot of our land ought we not to do some heart-snarching and re-dedicate ourselves to the tasks he left unaccomplished ? How many of us have attempted to follow his footsteps in the service of the country and the nation ? How many are selfless ? How many working as hard as he would have liked us to ? How many have maintained integrity of character ? How many incorruptible and honest ? How many have helped Pakistan attain the greatness and glory which were his ultimate target ?

The Quaid-i-Azam is no longer mortal, but Pakistan lives. It is our heritage. We have to consolidate it and follow his mandate of "Unity, Faith and Discipline" and march on to play our destined role in word affairs. Let us recollect that he said :

"Nature has given you everything. You have unlimited resources. The foundation of your State has been laid and it is now for you to build and build as quickly and as well as you can do." ... "If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially that of the masses and the poor."

When he entered public life as the secretary of Dadabhoy Naoroji, Indian National Congress President, it was Muhammad Ali Jinnah's desire that India, "the only civilised member of

the British Empire that had no real system of representative government', should attain independence gradually through constitutional means, and Hindus and Muslims should live therein as brothers. He worked indefatigably for that goal.

Sarojani Naidu described them as the "Ambassador of Unity." The citizens of Bombay built "Jinnah Hall" to commemorate his services to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity ; he prevailed upon Congress and the Muslim League to hold their annual sessions at the same place and almost at the same time from 1915 to 1920, resulting in the Lucknow Pact, and the "Memorandum of the Nineteen" (Hindu and Muslim legislators).

He conceded, after resignation from the Congress after two decades of association, even the formula accepting joint electorates for the Central Assembly embodied in the Delhi Muslims Proposals ; but it was after extremist Hindus had forced Congress to adopt the Nehru Plan that Jinnah evolved his famous Fourteen Points ; changed the objects of the Muslim League from the promotion "of the feelings of loyalty to the British" to the attainment of Dominion Status for India, and later, to full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic States.

After winning the Communal Award Mr. Jinnah toured from province to province before the General Elections of 1935 and reorganised the Muslim League, which won a remarkable victory at the polls. The magnificent success of the Indian National Congress, however, turned the heads of Congressmen. The Fourteen Points had been rejected earlier, the Gentlemen's Agreement was repudiated and the high-handed attitude of Congress Ministries resulted in the Muslim League Pirpur Report.

When the war broke out and the Japanese were advancing in the East, Congress Ministries resigned and the Muslims of India observed the Day of Deliverance on October 22,1939.

Three days after a young Muslim girl had presented Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah with a handkerchief with the map of Pakistan embroidered on it, the Muslim League owned, at its Lahore session, the 10-year-old proposal of Allama Iqbal for the establishment of sovereign, independent Muslim State in India comprising the Muslim majority areas of the Punjab, N. W. F. P., Baluchistan and Sind in the West and Bengal and Assam in the East.

The Pakistan demand caught the imagination of the Muslim masses in the 1946 elections. The Muslim League made Pakistan an election issue and captured 427 out of 482 seats in the provincial legislatures and all the Muslim seats in the Central Legislature. The Cabinet Mission, proposal and the Mountbatten Plan ultimately resulted in the realisation of the cherished goal of Muslim India.

(*From The Civil and Military Gazette,*

11 September, 1949)

QUAID-E-AZAM

When most men die they continue to live only in the memory of their intimates, Many so-called great men die twice —the second time when the last word of the obitury notice is read or of the funeral oration spoken ; Few indeed are those whose passing leaves a void which grow more poignant as time goes on. Such a one was Muhammad Ali Jinnah. A year ago Pakistan was stunned by news of the death of him who had created this new State. Every day, week and month since has aggravated the sense of loss in the heart of every Pakistani. The Qaid-i-Azam inspired the aspirations of the Muslim nation of this sub-Continent and that nation made of him the embodiment of those aspirations. As lawyer, politician and leader he, gave substance and meanings to a poet's dream and devoted many years of his life solely to its realisation. Emancipation was accompanied by sorrow and suffering such as he had never foreseen they were un-foreseeable. His grief was boundless, and it undobtingly shortened his life ; but in his heart of hearts he cherished the hope that even disaster would generate good and that the partition holocaust might prove to be the furnace that would temper the manhood and the spirit of Pakistan.

Although the seal was put on the portion of his life-work at midnight on August 14, 1947 and although he was thus blessed by Fate as few men are blessed, none realised more than he that that date marked not an end but a beginning. Problem after problem arose which would have taxed the spiritual, mental and physical resources of even the best-established State ; and apart from the Quaid-i-Azam himself, Pakistan could bring

to their solution only infinite willingness and un-bounded zeal, qualities which were largely vitiated by utter lack of experience. By his own untiring devotion to duty, his instruction, advice and assistance—even by his mere existence—Mr. Jinnah made a competent team of the band of neophytes in statesmanship in whose hands lay the destinies of Pakistan. But when his last illness overtook him he must have thought, with another great man, "How much to do. How much left undone"!

That thought has been with most Pakistanis continuously during the past year. Often, almost too often, have difficulties and doubts forced the futile reflection : If only "he" had been spared for another five years ! Although futile, from that thought springs the best hope for the future ; for as long as these are among Pakistan's leaders men who had the privilege of long association with the Quaid-i-Azam so long will his methods, his standards and his criteria, continue to help in the formulation of policies and in their complementation. To-day is a day of national mourning in a sense which for transcends the conventional and the honorific ; it must also be a day of re-dedication to the hopes which the Quaid-i-Azam Cherished for the State which was his creation and to the ideals which he placed before it".

(*Editorial, Civil & Military Gazette,*

Sept. 11, 1949)

QUAID-I-AZAM LIVED SO THAT PAKISTAN MAY COME INTO BEING : HE DIED SO THAT PAKISTAN MAY LIVE

By

In a speech cast from Radio Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah said :

"It is with a heary heart that I am addressing the nation to-day. It is exactly a year that the mortal frame of my beloved brother, Quaid i-Azam, parted from me and you all, and the whole nation was left fatherless.

Quaid-i-Azam's sad demise was a great Catastrophe that had befallen on the nation, but for me personally, it was a severe shock and a death blow. From the age of eight, I was taken under his tender care and protection and he brought me up and educated me. It would have been very difficult for me to have borne this grief of mine with courage and fortitude, but for the sympathy from the multitudee of people, which was a bulwork of strength to me and helped me to endure by deep grief and sorrow. On this occasion I must express by deepest sense of gratitude to all those who expressly and silently extended their sympathies to me.

In my Recent tour of the Punjab and the Frontier I went through the various parts of the country. Whether in the jungle or in the bustle of city, or in the rugged countryside or on the banks of the rivers and rivulet, whether in the vallies or distant far-off lands, or yonder on the snow-clad mountains, or

in plains, the name of the Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan was echoing everywhere.

Whether I met the people, whether it was their expression of deep esteem or warm affection for the Quaid-i-Azam, the spontaneous reception and warm regard and affection and appreciation of my humble services touched the very core of my heart, and I felt that even to-day, when the Quaid-i-Azam is no more with me the people of Pakistan have the same regard and trust and affection for me as in the day of my late brother. This esteem regard of the people has strengthened me to work with a renewal zeal and to do all I can to further the progress so dear to his heart.

Every man, woman and child knows the Quaid-i-Azam, and his mission and his acheivements. It is not possible for me to allude to them in the geographic details. He changed the destiny and the history of the Mussalmans of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Torn by internal dissensions, swayed by selfish and decayed Leadership, playing to the tune of our opponents Mussalmans were being drifted away from their glorious destiny. Quaid-i-Azam come forward, shook them from their deep slumber, organised and galvanced them with new life and enthusiasm, brought them under one flag and one platform under his leadership, and put new life into the people, and gave them the goal of Pakistan—some thing to live and die for. Before the mighty Whirlpool of muslim upsurge, the whole edifice of opposition to the ideal of Pakistan collapsed and within a short period of seven years Pakistan came into being.

He Showed the World.

It was due to his courage and firm determination that all

the powerful forces combined against him were not ableto dissuade him to give up his goal. He showed the world that when once a Mussalman is awake and makes up his mind, no power can keep him from attaining his object.

Quaid-i-Azam made the Mussalmans into one nation, gave them a flag and carved out a country, and taught the Musalmans to live as free, independent people.

During his period of seven years, he had to work single-handed and had to attend to so many problems at the same time, which he did at the cost of his health. He had to choose either to take rest and slacken his efforts in the struggle of Pakistan, or continue the work that increased daily—which meant a question of life and death to the nation—but he chose the latter at the risk of his own life.

It was with sheer will-power that he went through the struggle for freedom and faced many difficult problems, and removed all obstacles from his path, and marched on with full confidence and faith in himself and his people towards the goal successfully and triumphantly.

This achievement will go down in the history of the world as a miracle.

Health Ignored

After the achievement of Pakistan the events marched in quick succession and threatened to envelope and engulf the very existence of Pakistan. which was achieved after seven years of bard and untiring labour. Millions of refugees wended their way to Pakistan even before any machinery of the Government had been established. Economic fabric of the new born state was threatened with collapse under a well laid and carefully executed programme controlled from without. The beautiful and smiling land of Kashmir was savaged,

To arrest the adverse effects of these and other events, Quaid-i-Azam throw away the canons of caution of health to the winds and set up his task of consolidation of Pakistan with greater vigour and longer hours of hard work, and as a statesman foresaw the danger to the state.

With single-minded devotion and determination he refused to brook any delay and succeeded in his task of laying the foundation of Pakistan firmly—that which has come to stay. As Quaid-i-Azam says in his last message, "foundations of your state have been laid, and it is now for you to build—and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead, and I wish you God-speed."

Lost Wish

The question of Kashmir was nearest to Quaid-i-Azam's heart during the last few days of his life. The only news which interested him whether on the radio or in the news papers was regarding Kashmir. He always felt very un-happy that this problem was delayed. His wish to free Kashmir was not fulfilled during his life-time, hope the people of Pakistan will not rest, and will make every sacrifice, till the last wish of Quaid-i-Azam is fulfilled.

Quaid-i-Azam has left a lasting monument in the hearts of the people. My appeal to the Mussalmans, and specially to the youth, both men and women, to *study his life, follow the high principle* and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam work hard, and with singleness of purpose, and organise a band of selfless workers, so that they may be able to contribute their share towards the building up.

Remember

Pakistan was achieved after great sacrifices ; and it is your

duty to see that it shall live for ever. The world is watching your activities, and you have to prove that you are capable and worthy of shouldering your responsibilities. Remember, Islam expects every Mussalman to do his duty by his people.

You should never forget the difficulties and obstacles the Quaid-i Azam had to face in the achievement, and later on in laying foundations, of Pakistan, so that it may live for ever. He was successful in both, but at the cost of his life. *Quaid i Azam lived so that Pakistan may come into being ; he died that Pakistan may live*".

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

TRANSLATE GRIEF INTO HOPE

By

BEGUM LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Let us to-day dedicate ourselves afresh to the great task of nation-building which lies ahead of us. Nothing short of the best can be good enough for our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, who by his own life, actions and principles has set us an ideal towards which we must ever strive.

Today the nation stands in deep and silent grief before the memory of its great Father and Founder, who this day a year ago was, by the will of Allah taken from it. Such a life, such a spirit can never die—it lives on for ever in the hearts and minds, the lives and actions of every one of us, his people, for whom he lived and worked, and whom he led from slavery and annihilation into the free land of Pakistan.

It is for us to translate one grief into hope, our gratitude into action, so that we may build to his glorious memory the greatest tribute, the most lasting monument, that we are capable of, and that he himself would have desired above all else—the tribute, the monument of a strong, happy, united and prosperous nation, which may ever stand as the living testimony of the love, loyalty and gratitude of a devoted people for their great founder.

This will be no easy task. It wil call for the best and trust that every Pakistani man. woman and child can put into it ; but nothing short of the best can be good enough for our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, who, by his own life, actions and principles, has set us an ideal towards which we must ever strive.

(*Civil and Military Gazette*

Sept. 13, 1949)

POINT PLEDGE TO PERPETUATE THE GREAT HERITAGE OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

By

BEGUM LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, addressing a meeting of over 7,000 women, at the Jahangir Park on the 12th September, 1949 called upon the women of Pakistan to under take a solemn seven-point pledge to perpetuate the great heritage of the Quaid-i-Azam.

The pledge was as follows :

1. We will shed our last drop of blood in the defence of Pakistan.
2. He will help our Government in all its activities for the betterment of Pakistan.
3. We will not rest content till we have improved the condition of the poor.
4. We will do our best to remove ignorance and immorality from our country.
5. We will learn to nurse the sick and the wounded.
6. We will wrest from the clutches of the Jews our first Qibla Palestine."
7. We will not rest content so long as we are not able to

free our four million distressed Kashmiri brother and sisters.

It was full one year that the revered Quaid-i-Azam was removed by the Almighty from this mortal world but the great achievement of the "architect of Pakistan" had no parallel in history.

The Quaid-i-Azam laid great emphasis on three fundamental points 'unity, faith and discipline'. He instructed his people to follow these principles in organising themselves. We also have to follow these principles to-day in strengthening and stabilising Pakistan.

God' virtuous people never died, and hence Quaid-i-Azam also lived and would ever be remembered for his having created Pakistan.

He is not with us physically, but he has left his sacred trust, and let us not prove unworthy of it ; for remember. We shall have to account for our actions.

(*Civil and Military Gazette*

Sept. 13, 1949)

THE WORDS AND WORKS OF THE QUAID BY FOLLOWED AS BEST AS POSSIBLE

By

BEGUM IKRAM ULLAH

In a most inspiring and effective speech she lamented the fact that Fate had cruelly taken the Quaid-i-Azam when he was needed most, and that he left the ship of Pakistan in the middle of the ocean.

However, he had shown us the right track before he left and it is now for us to follow as we would have liked.

The Quaid-i-Azam was born in this city of Karachi, but no one heard of his birth, but at his death the entire nation was over powered with grief and the flow of tears could hardly be stopped. But the time has now come when all the weeping should stop, and the words and works of the "Quaid" be followed as best as possible.

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

WE SHOULD KEEP BEFORE US THE HIGH IDEALS OF THE QUAID-I-AZAM

By

BEGUM SALMA TASADDUQ HUSSAN

"We should constantly keep before us the high ideals of the Quaid-i-Azam. The women of Pakistan should encourage the the inculcation of true Islamic characteristics in their children which would help them to raise Pakistan to the highest place in the comity of nations".

(*Civil aud Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

THE WOMEN BAD PLAYED A GREAT ROLE IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PAKISTAN

By

BEGUM SHAHAB-UD-DIN

"In a broadcast from Dacca, the Quaid-i-Azam had said that the women of Pakistan had played a great role in the achievement of Pakistan. If they carried on in the same way. Pakistan would attain great heights.

So let us today pledge that we will not be left behind, in any walk of life."

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

MINORITIES, CHAMPION

by

JOGENDRA NATH MANDAL,

Minister for law and Labour.

The cruel hands of destiny had taken away the Quaid-i-Azam at a time when his presence was most necessary.

Great men are born with some mission. As soon as that mission is fulfilled they are taken away from us. The Quaid-i-Azam was born with the mission of achieving Pakistan and free millions of the downtroden and poor people of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Not only the Muslims, but other minorities of India looked upon the Quaid-i-Azam as their Champion.

I don't intend to make any concealment of my feelings that after his death the minorities to-day feel more helpless than the Muslims of Pakistan. In his death the State lost its architect and founder, the nation lost its Father and the people at large lost their guide but the minorities lost their best friend, and protector, and well-wisher.

Many responsible members of the minority communities on many occasions have expressed their helplessness to me because of the absence of the Quaid-i-Azam. They have candidly confessed and tried to impress upon me that their condition and lot would have been much better had the Quaid-i-Azam been living at this time.

I subscribe to their views, today as always. I as the representative of the minorities, invoke the soul of the Quaid-i-Azam to lead me on the right path. I pray to his soul because in him I found the greatest champion of the cause of the minorities.

The minorities had great confidence in him. They knew that in Pakistan which was achieved by the Quaid-i-Azam they would never have any unfair deal, and their interest would be safeguarded.

Those, who, following in the footsteps of the Quaid-i-Azam, are ruling the country today, cannot forget the message of the Quaid-i-Azam and his example.

At this solemn occasion I would like to remind them that ours is a great responsibility. The Quaid-i-Azam has left a legacy. He acheived Pakistan to make it prosperous, happy and great. We must pledge and dedicate ourselves to the cause for which the Quaid-i-Azam lived and died. So long as we will be guided by the ideals and the message left behind by the Quaid-i-Azam, we need not be disheartened, and we need not be afraid of any thing, either external or internal. Placing our faith in God. We must march forward, no matter what difficulties come in our way.

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept, 13, 1949)

QUAID-I-AZAM HAS ENSHRINED HIMSELF IN OUR HEARTS, AND IN THE PAGES OF HISTORY

by

LALA KOTU RAM,

M. L. A. (N. W. F. P).

The stability, strength and prestige that we have gained, the peace that we have secured, the material progress that we have made, and the new vistas of plenty are that opening before us, are all due to the inspiring spirit of the late Quaid-i-Azam. Let the same spirits continue to inspire us, and let us adjure all selfishness and internal wrangles for power, and work together as a team to ensure fulfillment of the dream of the Baba-i-Millat."

It is a matter for thanks giving that Quaid-i-Azam's mantle has not fallen on unworthy shoulders. Despite the storms, the worthy successors now in charge of the Pakistan ship have steered it clear of all rocks to her haven, with all her majestie and triumphant look.

Quaid-i-Azam's miracle of Pakistan continues to work through its magic formula of faith, unity and discipline." Islam is its central, cementing and inspiring link."

Quaid-i-Azam has enshrined himself in our hearts, and in the pages of history, as one with a frail body but with a resolute mind that makes and unmakes things that makes and unmakes history, and saways the minds of mankind.

(*Civil and Miltary Gazette,*
Sept. 13, 1949)

THE MEMORY OF THE "QUAID" IS SACRED

by

DEWAN BAHADUR

S. P. Singha

"The memory of the Quaid-i-Azam is sacred not only to the Muslims of Pakistan, but equally to non-Muslims. The reference be made to the minorities in connection with the citizenship of Pakistan at the inaugural ceremony on the 14th August, 1947, constitutes their "magna carta.''

(*Civil and Military Gazette*

Sept., 13, 1949)

IF THE "QUAID" HAD LIVED MORE ... !

by

MR. DINSHAH

B. Challa

While presiding over a general meeting of the Lahore Pasri Anjman, which was arranged to commemorate the first death anniversary of the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Challa laid special emphasis on the great leader's solicitude for the welfare of minorities, specially the Parsi community. He deplored the sad demise of the Quaid-i-Azam so soon after the foundation of the State had been laid and observed that if Providence had spared him just for a period of five years more, it would have been a great thing for the further progress and prosperity of Pakistan especially for minorities.

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept. 13, 1949)

RECALL PLEA FOR FAITH UNITY

DISCIPLINE, AND ACT

ACCORDING

LT. GEN.

R. C. Mccay in a message to all ranks of the Pakistan Army, said. "As the acting Commander-in-Chief I send this message to all ranks on the first anniversary of the death of the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

September 11 marks a very sad day in the history of Pakistan. At a time when the country needed him most, the Founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, passed away. It was an infinitely depressing moment for us all.

But encouragement has come from the noble example he set for us during his life time. His selfless devotion to the cause, his conception of duty and his iron determination to achieve his objective, have been a source of great inspiration through out the year gone by and will continue to be so for years to come.

Recall to yourself his inspiring message of unity. faith and discipline. The need to act accordingly to the spirit of these words with redoubled effort is greater today than ever.

We all join in humble prayer in memory of his departed soul."

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept, 11, 1949)

IN PAKISTAN, YOU WILL BE AT LIBERTY."

by

MR. C. E. GIBBONS.

From almost nothing, the Quaid-i-Azam, with improvable patience and indomitable courage, carved out a homeland for his people. It was my privilege to discuss with him the future of the minorities in Pakistan ; and to hear fall from his lips those memorable words, "in Pakistan you will be all liberty to pursue your own way of life and enjoy a freedom greater than that ever known."

Death, however, removed him from the field of his labour, but his spirit remains to guide the nation through toil and sorrow to the promised land of the peace and plenty.

(*Civil a Military Gaztte,*

Sept., 13, 1949)

THE QUAID-I-AZAM HAD MADE A PROMISE

By

CATHOLIC LORD BISHOP OF LAHORE.

To us, members of the Christian and Anglo-Indian minorities, the Quaid-i-Azam had made a promise. We asked him for no privileged treatment. We were prepared, as we are now, to share the common burdens and hardships of the country, as well as its glory and joy, for we are well grounded in the spirit of sacrifice for home and country. All that we did ask was a decent living a free men of a nation freedom of conscience and religion, and the means to educate our children in the faith of their fathers. That is what the beloved Quaid-i-Azam promised us and promise none shall ever deprive us of, so long as we fulfil our duty of loyalty and devotion to Pakistan and its people, because that promise has now become sacred. It is sealed in the death of the Quaid-i-Azam, and is part and parcel of his legacy, which is the State of Pakistan itself."

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept., 13, 1949)

TRIBUTES TO JINNAH

On the 17th of March, 1947, a meeting was organized by the Assam Muslim Association Shillong to observe the death anniversary of Allama Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, a statesman, political thinker and Muslim divine of Afghanistan. Dr. I. H. Zuberi, Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta, who presided over the meeting, after paying tributes to the Allama declared that Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a lineal, descendant from the spiritual stand point, of the Allama, is as much as he had sponsored two-nation theory for India and said that Muslim nationhood was based on religion and not on region."

(*The Eastern Times*,

March 18, 1947).

TRIBUTE

Many thousands of *tributes* came from shocked world leaders after the tragic news of September 11, 1948, among them :

H. M. the King : To Miss Jinnah—"The Queen and I are distressed to hear the news of your distinguished brother's death. His loss will, we all know, be irreparable to yourself and to all in Pakistan. We send you our sincere sympathy."

India's Governor-General : To Prime Minister—"Dear friend,—On the behalf to myself, my Government and my people. I tender to you and your Government and your people most heartfelt sympathy. May God enable us to go through every trial and every misfortune in a worthy manner."

President Truman : To the Prime Minister—"Originator of the dream that became Pakistan, architect of the State, Father of the world's largest Muslim nation, Mr. Jinnah was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to a man. I am confident that the memory of Mr. Jinnah's remarkable leadership will maintain and inspire the Government and the people of Pakistan in the years that lie ahead."

Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General Arab League : We have lost in Mr. Jinnah one of the greatest Muslim leaders in the world. Mr. Jinnah's death is the sub continent's second great loss in a year—the other being the death of Mahatma Gandhi. I hope that in spite of thse losses the India and Pakistan peoples will pull together united, and give an example of their ability to create a new world."

H. E. Sarojini Nai du, Governor U. P. : (Who has since also passed away) : "Please convey to the people of Pakistan my deep sorrow at the death of the Quaid i-Azam who was, indeed, the Father of their new State and one of the most distinguished and arresting figures in our contemporary history. May his followers honour his memory by striving unceasingly to create an atmosphere of peace and unity which alone can give reality and permanency to Muhammad Ali Jinnah's cherished dreams and ideas. May our common bereavement bring the two Dominions closer together in growing friendship and co-operation for the service of humanity."

(*Civil and Military Gazette,*

Sept., 11, 1949)

On this first anniversary of Mr. Jinnah's death, the Government of the United Kingdom join with your Government in mourning the loss your great leader. The prosperity and happiness of the country, to which he devoted his life's service, will be his memorial.

MR. ATTLEE,

British Prime Minister.

Please accept our deepest condolence on the anniversary of death of our patron, Mr. Jinnah. Long live Pakistan."

S. MOHD ISMAIL

(Pres. of the Muslim League & All-Malaya Muslim Missionary Society).

"On behalf of myself and Khairpur State I offer heartfelt condolences on the sad demise of the Quaid-i-Azam and pray God to have mercy on the great departed soul."

SAHIBZADA MIR MOHD ALI KHAN TALPUR

Pres. Board of Regenncy, Khairpur

"On the occasion of the commemoration of the first death anniversary of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, I, on behalf of Sirdars and the people of Kalat State, extend sincere prayers for departed soul to rest in eternal peace. The Quaid-i-Azam is dead but his memory lives for ever. Pakistan is his sacred gift to Muslim and it is now our duty to look after it and strengthen it."

Prime Minister of Kalat

"On behalf of the Islamic League of South Africa, and the Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Muslim League Bridges Council of South Africa, I associate myself in the commemoration of the first death anniversary of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam ; the father of the nation whom we shall remember for ever. May Allah's choicest blessings be on him."

HAJI SALEH MOHD

(Hon. Secy. Islamic League, South Africa, and Founder Quaid-i-Azam Memorial Muslim Bridges Council, South Africa).

Aghaj Falsai was a great scholar and orator of Iran and a member of the Anjman-e-Ittehad-e-Musalmin, Iran. While paying tributes to the Quaid he said :

"Quaid-i-Azam brought about unity among the largest number of Muslims after the Holy Prophet. His great services to Muslims of the world will never be forgotten. May the the forces which have evil designs on Pakistan be crushed."

(*Civil & Military Gazette,*

Sept., 13, 14, 1949)

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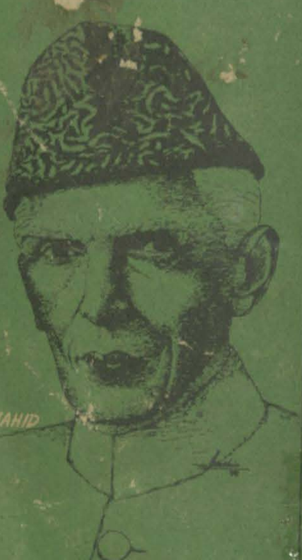
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QUAID-I-AZAM
MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

Speeches
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EDITED BY
MUHAMMAD HANIF SHAHID

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